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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1968

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**EAST EUROPE REPORT**  
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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ART MUST PROMOTE CLASS IDEOLOGY

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Dec 81 p 5

[Article by Josef Havlin, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee: "An Ever-lasting Task--Socialist Creativity--A True and Eloquent Testimony of Our Time"]

[Text] The implementation of the program adopted by the 16th Congress for every area of our social action, as well as the planning and fulfillment of the cultural program of our party, is become increasingly more demanding. It is therefore so much more important for us to focus all our creative forces on the fulfillment of our tasks and to join without reservation the united front of those who are fighting for everything that is progressive and who champion the working people and socialism.

The world situation is imposing increasing demands on the level of our political administration in social development and on the contents and methods of our ideological education. The socialist countries, and thus also our society, must enhance even more the authority of conscientious and honest work for public welfare, form attitudes toward work as the highest value of socialism, do everything in our power to transform work into the innermost, most vital need of mankind. In this context we stress the irreplaceable role of literature and arts that ideologically and ethically affect the masses and the importance of ideological and political tempering of our creative intelligentsia.

For that reason, soon after the 16th CPCZ Congress we began to concentrate on the concepts for individual sectors of culture and arts for the coming years. We give a major role to national committees in enforcing and introducing whatever culture and arts may, and must, contribute for the fulfillment of the program stipulated by the 16th Congress.

Our work proceeds under rigorous internal and international political conditions that call for considerable responsibility, moral maturity and far-reaching initiative on the part of our people. Precisely such circumstances bring our people's consciousness distinctly to the forefront. Our socialist culture and arts are of quite extraordinary and completely intrinsic significance in this great struggle waged by the working people, who are gradually implementing the program of our 16th Congress. By the mediation and through the immediate impact of culture and arts we may approach every citizen with the policy of

the CPCZ and of our socialist state--with the policy of the communist and revolutionary movements all over the world. Through culture and arts we may introduce to our people also specific expressions of patriotism and internationalism, the role and position of the USSR, its communist party, its peoples and its efforts to preserve peace, in other words, all we regard as real socialism and its further development, all we regard as progress of mankind and its happiness. That is not all. With socialist culture and arts we may open an offensive and convincingly introduce socialism in any country abroad.

Equally meaningful is the fact that precisely in culture and arts we do not handpick from the wealth of ideas only what suits us best or what may be most easily implemented at the given moment, but that we interpret the 16th Congress fully and comprehensively, with all its postulates and with personal responsibility of each one of us.

We accomplished excellent results in culture and arts, but we cannot be satisfied with our achievements; it would be the greatest of errors to ignore all kinds of shortcomings existing in that area. The focus on economy, quality and effectiveness of every action enforced by our party applies urgently and to the fullest extent in culture and arts. We all, no matter what our position in the party and state administration, must realize that genuine cultural and artistic values stem exclusively from the authors' essential unity with the life of our society and its constructive efforts; from the knowledge of, and feeling for, the complexities of our era and its historic struggles; and from true identification with everything that fulfills the noble tasks and objectives of our society. Such values may be gained only from work where high criteria, civic awareness and a profound sense of truth inspire our cultural activists and artists to create works of the highest ideological and artistic merit.

It is generally known that the specifics of artistic creation in our society are scrupulously respected and that our artists are not ordered what to do. Our efforts are based mainly on sensitive, yet principled, ideological work; their purpose is to achieve an inner, fervently experienced unity with the workers' class and with other working people in order to consolidate and intensify in the whole creative vanguard and in each of its members an awareness of their participation and coresponsibility for the work created by the dedicated and constructive efforts of our people.

Our party's ideological program, along with the cultural and art vanguard, represents an extraordinary dynamic process of systematic adoption of Marxist-Leninist principles concerning creativity, as well as the struggle to unite all those who are pursuing in that area our party's cultural policy and its pivotal principles--ideological awareness, party consciousness and the common touch. Our task is to inspire every sector of social activity, to intensify and methodically to improve our work and to strip from it all superficial, formal and random aspects.

If our party and state authorities approach cultural and artistic creativity in such a way, that does not indicate that individuals, society or authorities administering and managing this particular area may be indifferent to many

negative phenomena either directly in the creative work itself or in civic and ethical attitudes of certain individuals.

We all are well aware that our people have every right to feel resentment over everything that contradicts their views of our socialist society and interpersonal relations and to become incensed by the excesses in the conduct and social expressions of certain individuals, no matter how famous they may be. Our people cannot accept their superciliousness and eccentricity, frequently bordering on disdain for the simple folks.

Our people often ask whether the presentations by various groups or individual artists demonstrate a socialist character and whether they can enhance the attitude of our young generation toward socialism and the communist party. They can see and recognize what is necessary from what is alien and brought to our country only to distract our people from their constructive efforts, to nurture in them misconceptions about the other part of our world and to kindle in them illusions about the situation in the bourgeois imperialist world. Our working people are not always quite certain that appropriate authorities are duly supervising and guiding the development of numerous professional groups in this or that sector of entertainment and furthermore that their activities are subject to systematic review and control. After all, many of us often harbor the impression that only the appropriately hirsute and socially least conformist individuals may operate in this particular field. Many other negative phenomena are in evidence, including all kinds of jokes denigrating socialism and the honest work of our people.

All those and other events point to one thing: precisely here we must become much more demanding, critical and determined. All that contributes to socialism and helps remedy the developing shortcomings and problems has now, and always will enjoy, steady support in our country; nevertheless, we can never tolerate contradictions to our ideology, injury to socialism, corruption of our people's taste and disdain for the achievements of our people.

We are fully aware that culture and arts must jointly stimulate creativity and interpret it not only in the countries of the socialist community; we must not isolate ourselves in this area, thinking that this is the best way to serve socialism and protect our society against the intrusion of bourgeois culture and arts. Naturally, this is not an easy path. It is an irrefutable fact that great culture and arts can develop and exist even in capitalist states and that the progressive artists living and working there are realists whose very art and creativity score capitalism and imperialism with all their afflictions and inhumane manifestations. We must bring their culture and arts closer to our people. However, the decadent culture that also exists in the capitalist countries has nothing in common with the concept of culture; it only poisons and deforms the taste and feelings of our people, especially the youth, and serve the interests of capitalism.

We must take pains to prevent precisely this type of pseudoculture from reaching our people. If it reaches them, it must be mercilessly rejected and its bearers must realize that we do not intend to tolerate it.

We cannot regard as modern anything that insults the feelings of our people, anything that corrupts the taste of our young people in the era of socialism, anything that diverts our people from their life and work in our socialist society and misguides them in the unknown. Progressive and modern art is in ample supply all over the world but it requires great skill to discover it and to bring precisely such works to our perceptive readers, listeners of popular and dance music, concert- and theatergoers, viewers of variety shows, etc.

Under the demanding domestic and foreign conditions in which we are implementing the decisions of the 16th Congress, the entire area of culture has an especially meaningful duty to enhance its ideological and international role in spreading in the world the truth about the advantages of socialism, to multiply the effect of arts and cultural education on the thought, action, value orientation and the life style of our people, to develop culture as an enormous battlefield where the class struggle is being waged: the struggle for peace and for the fulfillment of the tasks stemming from the building of socialism and communist education. All efforts in the creation and interpretation of cultural values, in a systematic development of the work in cultural education and administration, must be subordinated to that ideological role. In accordance with the decisions of the 16th Congress and the 15th Session of the CPCZ Central Committee, every artist and every cultural educational and administrative institution and organization on all levels of management must regard their share in ideological, international, patriotic, ethical and esthetic education as their most vital goal and as the purpose of all their activity. The tasks of ideological education must be regarded far more consistently than ever before as fundamental criteria when setting up dramatic and editorial programs and unified plans for cultural education, when reviewing artistic creation and when judging the standards of cultural activities as well as when selecting, training and deploying cadres in the whole area of culture.

The international situation and the effects of the ideological struggle as well as the aggravated conditions for the fulfillment of the demanding tasks in the building of socialism call more than ever before for deeper consciousness and mobilization of our forces. This demands that the arts and cultural education become more militant in terms of ideology when struggling against the vestiges and drawbacks in the development of socialism, so as to enhance continuously the advantages of socialism and its moral criteria in the consciousness of our people. The criteria of ideological awareness must be consistently enforced in the daily activity of authors of art works, script writers, film directors, editors in publishing houses, and reviewers as the very springboard for further advances in this area.

The crucial precondition for upgrading the ideological role of the arts calls for the development of ideological education for our creative intelligentsia. The formation of a creative vanguard on positions of socialism has been completed over the past years. Art groups on which our party depends as its leading aktiv have played in the past, and are playing now, an important role in consolidating the ranks of our creative vanguard. Not only the abundant harvest of precious works of art but also the outspoken civic attitudes of our artists attest to the beneficial atmosphere of our creative vanguard.

Yet despite these achievements we must not relax for a single moment our educational work among the artists. Practically all our prominent creative forces have adopted socialist positions; however, not all artists have matured sufficiently so that their work can meet the lofty criteria of ideology, maturity, party consciousness and professional excellence. Most young artists of the new generation entering our art world in the past decade are talented and educated but inexperienced and not always correctly focused or able to distinguish the really innovative from the fashionable, formalistic or even ideologically devious.

Art criticism, particularly in our daily publications and reviews, bears ample blame for such shortcomings. Often hardly any attention is paid to works created on purely ideological bases in workshops of true masters, while excessive and uncritical attention is devoted to marginal, mostly faddish and eccentric creations.

From these and other problems it follows that ideological education of our creative vanguard, in conjunction with an effort for further amalgamation of its ranks on the positions of meticulous criteria and responsibility, remains our constant task of utmost importance.

It is necessary in particular to upgrade the education of the young generation of artists and not to leave them to the tender mercies of undesirable ideological influences or to their own artistic rambling; they must be sensitively taught to dedicate themselves to the cause of socialism, to identify themselves with the role of arts in our socialist society and to embrace without any reservation the creative ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The program of ideological education offered to our artistic vanguard cannot be regarded merely as a matter for central institutions to deal with. It must be implemented also in the theaters, cinema, television and radio studios, in our publishing houses and in cultural establishments of individual krajs and okreses, in other words, wherever our artists live, work and create. Analogically, it cannot be regarded as merely a problem for individual educational programs but primarily as a ceaseless process, which is evident when specific artistic tasks are being fulfilled and when our artists and their creations are leaving their mark on the life of our society.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NOVEMBER 1981 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Nov 81 p 4

[Volkmar Bachmann review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 11, November 1981, signed to press 14 October 1981, pp 1073-1184: "On the Central Issue of Our Time." Translations and/or summaries of articles by authors cited below as well as by others (except by Horst Hemberger and Harald Esche) are published in pages following this review]

[Text] "Strategies For and Against Peace" is the title given to EINHEIT's November issue. It thus takes up a topic which particularly at this time moves and excites people all over the world in view of NATO's decisions on stepped-up armament and the shift by the most aggressive imperialist powers, first and foremost the United States, toward a confrontation course. Well-known authors unmistakably prove in five contributions that the imperialist social system is incapable of solving the basic issues of human life in our time.

The inflation in the capitalist countries, fanned primarily by the growing government indebtedness resulting from stepped-up armament, Horst Hemberger writes, consumes ever more rapidly and completely the sociopolitical "results of the wage and tariff struggles of the workers class and its trade unions." ["Crisis, Armament and Social Dismantling," pp 1081-1084, by Prof Dr Horst Hemberger, economist, deputy director, faculty for political economy of capitalism, Karl Marx Party College, SED Central Committee]

Ernst Krabatsch, in his contribution, describes the persistent peace policy of the socialist states and their incessant efforts for disarmament. Wolfram Neubert documents unambiguously that socialism and peace are part of each other, that they are, so to speak, of the same nature and, the writer emphasizes, that "for the implementation of the historic mission of the workers class and for the development and blossoming of the fundamentally new society, the socialist society, peace--and peace alone--provides the most favorable conditions." Guenter Sieber, in his article, documents the fraternal relations with the USSR which are serving peace.

Albrecht Charisius devotes his remarks to NATO and its key position in the anti-socialist confrontation policy of the U.S. administration. Sergej Henke and Harry Klug in turn analyze the gist of the efforts of some U.S. politicians to revert openly "to the policy of cold war" and thus to stroll along "the brink of the nuclear abyss."

A review of the book, "Anti-Communism Today" [pp 1181-1182; by Dr Harald Esche, staff employee, SED Central Committee] (published by Dietz Verlag, [East] Berlin, 1981), which exposes old and new features of imperialism's anti-Communist strategy at the beginning of the 1980's, completes the treatment of the topic.

[PLEASE NOTE: A translation of a 'Consultation' feature article, pp 1169-1172, by Prof Dr Manfred Engert (economist, director, Institute for Socialist World System Economics, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee) is published under the heading, "Objectives of GDR-USSR 'Production Cooperation' Program Explained," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

CSO: 2300/79

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SOCIALIST STATES' 'COORDINATED POLICY' ON NATO DECISIONS EXPLAINED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 11, Nov 81 (signed to press 14 Oct 81)  
pp 1093-1100

[ 'Strategies For and Against Peace' feature article by Ernst Krabatsch, main department chief, GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs: "Socialist Peace Policy in Action"]

[Text] The states of the socialist community have adopted the peace program carried further by the 26th CPSU Congress in conformity with the requirements of the exacerbated international situation as the platform of their common struggle against the peril of a nuclear inferno threatening all mankind. Their coordinated peace policy is the only alternative for the confrontation course pursued by the most aggressive imperialist forces. This constructive policy, aimed at stopping the arms race and doing away with military confrontation, finds increasing agreement and support among the peace-loving people in the world.

Can the peoples and states stay on the path of ensuring peace and detente in the 1980's or are they thrown back at the course of military confrontation and at strolling along the brink of nuclear war? This is the question confronting humanity today. The imperialist stepped-up armament and confrontation policy is the greatest danger to peace and international security, independence and social progress. Comrade Erich Honecker has announced: "If the thus far longest period of peace in our century in Europe is to last, we must succeed in turning toward disarmament in the 1980's. We must succeed in restraining NATO's confrontation politicians and thwarting their designs. Not in the fear of war shall the peoples pursue their daily work, but in assured peace which ultimately must become their normal way of life. At that our policy is aimed."<sup>1</sup>

A New, Great Peace Initiative

To solve this most important problem for mankind, the USSR, at the 26th CPSU Congress, proposed an extremely far-reaching and constructive action program for peace. Its important world-political propositions found the full support

of the 10th SED Congress. The states of the socialist community regard it as the common platform for their action. It includes measures for the limitation and reduction of nuclear weapons and conventional arms, and for the elimination and prevention of crises and conflict situations--be they in Europe, in the Near and Middle East, in the Indian Ocean region or in the Far East. It also contains confidence-inspiring measures, steps for the stabilization and deepening of detente and for the development of mutually beneficial cooperation.

Each proposition by itself and all of them together aim at a thorough and long-range recovery of the world situation and at thwarting the confrontation policy pursued by the most aggressive imperialist circles. The program focuses on maintaining the existing military-strategic balance between the USSR and the United States, the Warsaw Pact and NATO, on as low a level as possible. At the same time the socialist states declare their readiness to conclude agreements on the limitation and reduction of any kind of weapons if the other side, guaranteed its undiminished security, also is ready for it. They show understanding for any constructive proposal by other states.

It is only natural that the socialist peace program for the 1980's has had a lasting and positive echo all over the world. It has become an important factor of international life. The states of the socialist community are working steadily and consistently on its implementation. The results of the most recent Crimea meeting between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the leading representatives of the fraternal parties in the states of the socialist community bear witness to that. Preserving peace is the main issue in the coordinated foreign policy of the socialist states.

In today's complicated and perilous situations, where imperialism and its henchmen want to impose on mankind another cold war, the realistic and constructive position of the socialist states is gaining a very special value as a constant positive factor of world politics. What with all the contradiction between the systems and ideologies of socialism and imperialism, yet from the threatening danger of a nuclear world conflagration there arises the compelling need to settle all international issues--however complicated and grave they may be--by way of negotiation. The call for reason emanating from the socialist states thus is indissolubly tied up with their readiness for political dialogue and immediate serious negotiations.

#### Limitation and Reduction of Nuclear Weapons Instead of NATO Arms Speed-up

The states of the socialist community are making special efforts to avert the risk of another round of the nuclear arms race threatening in particular from the deployment of novel U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe. A third, a nuclear, conflict would destroy everything that has been created by generations. That must not be. If these new weapons systems--108 Pershing II and 464 cruise missiles, as decided by the NATO Council meeting of 12 December 1979--actually are deployed, in contempt for the constructive Soviet negotiation proposals, the Soviet Union and its allies should have to take counter-measures to preserve the military equilibrium in this region.

The deployment of the new U.S. medium-range missiles would significantly alter the balance of power. By deploying these weapons, with a range covering large parts of the Soviet Union, one intends to upset the extant parity between the USSR and the United States in strategic nuclear weapons systems in Western Europe and achieve strategic superiority.

The USSR--together with the other states in the socialist community--is undeterred in its conviction that it is necessary and possible to prevent another round of the arms race in Europe. Its relevant propositions continue in force. Their implementation would lead to substantial results on behalf of peace. Even back in the early 1970's the USSR repeatedly proposed negotiations to the United States about these weapons, including of course the advanced deployment of U.S. nuclear weapons. No positive answer came. Three times the USSR offered such negotiations to the NATO states in 1979--in March, October and November. It was ready to reduce the number of its own missiles if no new weapons of this kind were to be deployed in Western Europe. As an answer, NATO came out with its missile resolution in December 1979. Nonetheless Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, in his talks with FRG Chancellor Schmidt in June 1980, reiterated the Soviet proposal for negotiating on the reduction of medium-range weapons, including of course the advanced deployment of U.S. nuclear weapons.

At its 26th CPSU Congress, the USSR proposed a moratorium on nuclear medium-range weapons in Europe, "freezing" the existing weapons qualitatively and quantitatively in their present condition. This first step was meant to go into effect at the start of the negotiations and facilitate the concluding of reduction accords. Even though that would stop the introduction of the very medium-range weapon allegedly "threatening" NATO, the United States and, mainly, the FRG were in a hurry to deliberately distort and reject that proposal. In view of the importance a positive solution of this problem would have, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, when SPD Chairman Willy Brandt visited Moscow on 30 June 1981, affirmed the Soviet Union's readiness to halt its deployment of medium-range missiles in the European part of the USSR on the very day that substantial negotiations about such weapons would start, provided of course the United States would also not add to its medium-range weapons during those negotiations.

This is persuasive evidence for the honest desire of the USSR and the other states in the socialist community to find a way out of the prevailing situation. Primarily the resolute peace policy of the USSR and the other states in the socialist community and the increasingly stronger and more active peace movement in Western Europe and the United States have had the effect that now the United States, after long hesitation, has announced it will start such negotiations on 30 November this year in Geneva. For the GDR, Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer in his speech before the 36th UN session has welcomed that announcement as a step in the right direction and expressed the expectation that these negotiations would lead to tangible results.<sup>2</sup>

There continue to be doubts about how seriously the United States is willing to engage in negotiations--even among the closest U.S. allies. For all that, President Reagan, in a speech at West Point on 27 May 1981, has explicitly stated: "If there are arguments, then at most about which weapons are to be procured--and not whether, for the sake of treaties and agreements, we should forgive weapons."

The negotiations have not yet begun and already preconditions are being piled up. It is said the USSR should have to "alter its international stance" if it wanted to share a dialogue with the United States. What actually gives the United States--which in the various regions in the world supports reactionary regimes and the terrorist activities of those governments--the right to ask the USSR it should abandon its policy, firm in principle, of supporting the peoples' national liberation struggle, especially by those that are being threatened by imperialist aggression and counterrevolutionary intervention? It is all too obvious that this means looking for a pretext to delay or even prevent substantive negotiated results. That also is the aim of methods already well known from other disarmament negotiations where all too much is made of unjustified forms of "supervision" the USSR should, without further examination, agree to. The same is true of the "numbers game," as manufactured by the fabrication centers of imperialist intelligence services.

The U.S. decision to produce the neutron weapon--on the very day when the whole world commemorated the victims of Hiroshima--speaks for itself. Its own allies were surprised by it. That weapon, also intended for use in Europe, is meant to reduce the "nuclear threshold." Like the U.S. medium-range missiles it is supposed to "materialize" the doctrine of "limited" nuclear war. This grave decision on a further arms buildup can only be understood as a step "on a policy course that evokes serious dangers for the security and life of the peoples, indeed for all mankind."<sup>3</sup>

That decision once again threw the socialist states' negotiation offers to the winds. Since 10 March 178 there has been before the Geneva disarmament commission a draft convention of the socialist states on proscribing the production, storage, deployment and use of neutron weapons. Also rejected was the recent offer to have this issue quickly resolved by a task force of the commission. The socialist states continue to be convinced a negotiated solution on mutually restraining from this terrifying weapon would best conform to the peoples' interest in peace. As far as the neutron bomb itself is concerned, the NATO circles ought to be perfectly clear that for the USSR there no longer exists such a secret. The USSR has announced repeatedly it would not start the production of neutron weapons as long as none of them surfaced in other states.

#### Continuing the SALT Process

The socialist states most emphatically advocate continuing the SALT negotiations between the USSR and the United States. At the instigation of the United States, as one knows, SALT II, already signed--in the preparation of which representatives of three U.S. administrations were involved--remained unratified. Officially the Reagan Administration has declared efforts were under way for a "new position" on SALT. The "absence of a policy," however, is a policy too.

Both SALT I and SALT II were in a way a synonym for turning from the Cold War to detente, to mutually advantageous cooperation. They reflected a realistic policy, an agreement to place mutual relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence. Through implementing SALT II, a clear limit would be established, quantitatively and qualitatively, for strategic nuclear arms, the balance of strategic forces would be stabilized for the present and for long range, a basis would be created

for subsequently reducing strategic offensive weapons, and the danger of nuclear war would be considerably decreased.

But precisely that is what does not fit in with the declared concept to gain military superiority over the USSR and the other states in the socialist community and force them to their knees economically through an uncontrolled arms race. The intention is to subvert the treaties concluded with the Soviet Union and delay to when the cows come home, or rather to frustrate any substantive negotiations on arms limitation and reduction.

Concrete accords in this field would have immediate effects on halting the arms race and provide a firm foundation and new impulses for all negotiations. They would confine the arms race in its most dangerous and expensive domains. The USSR is ready to "continue appropriate negotiations with the United States without delay in preserving everything positive accomplished in this field up to now."<sup>4</sup> It is also proposing agreements on limitations for the new submarines of both countries and on proscribing any modernization of the extant and the development of new ballistic missiles with which these submarines are armed. The responsibility lies with the United States. A collapse of SALT would make the arms race uncontrollable and increase the danger of war to an unprecedented extent.

One thing is clear already, however: nothing--not even the enormous means the Reagan Administration has already allocated for the arms race--can accomplish a change in the existing strategic equilibrium to the detriment of the USSR. That is shown by the history thus far of the arms race for which imperialism bears the blame. It shows little sense of reality for the United States to claim the new weapons systems--either the MX missiles, or Trident 1 and Trident 2, the strategic B-1 bomber, the cruise missiles and so forth--should have to be introduced to induce the USSR through negotiations to further reductions from a "position of strength." The USSR has emphasized repeatedly it is ready for a reduction of strategic arms--even a critical one--, but only on the basis of equality and equal security. "We can accept no accords that would grant the United States a unilateral superiority. And we must have no illusions about that," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said.<sup>5</sup>

The illusory speculations of the Pentagon to be able to force the USSR to its knees by a "disarming nuclear first strike" or the threat of one, which received a new impulse from Carter's "Presidential Directive 59," increased the danger of the outbreak of a nuclear catastrophe. The Soviet Union, in contrast, has repeatedly pointed out on the highest level that its military doctrine is purely defensive in character and its nuclear missile forces serve to contain a possible aggressor. It plans no kinds of preemptive strikes against anybody. All efforts of the Soviet Union are aimed at "letting it come neither to a first or a second strike, so that there will be no nuclear war at all."<sup>6</sup> This was once more made persuasively clear when Foreign Minister A. Gromyko proposed to the 36th UN session to pass a declaration solemnly stating that he who would first use nuclear weapons would commit the gravest crime against humanity.

No one should get the mistaken idea, however, this new proposal by the Soviet Union was a sign of weakness. The military-strategic balance, indispensable for the security of the community of socialist states, will be ensured--through new accords on nuclear arms limitation or, if worst comes to worst, even without them.

### Extricating the Vienna Negotiations from Their Deadlock

Also in the Vienna negotiations on mutual armed forces and arms reduction in Central Europe, the socialist states are making great efforts to achieve progress. Judging the goal of those negotiations thus far--establishing an agreement--they still are in their initial phase. Established have been thus far --the subject under negotiation, a mutual armed forces and arms reduction and measures tied to that in Central Europe; --the principles for working out future accords, not diminishing the security of either side; --the direct participants and the area for the reduction, the territories of the FRG, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and the GDR, Poland and the CSSR; and --the two phases of the reduction, initially the USSR and U.S. ground forces, within one year and in the course of 3 years, setting limits for each direct participant.

There are, however, no concrete results as yet in reducing, in accordance with the goal agree upon in 1973, the high armed forces and arms concentration in Central Europe on a reciprocal and equitable basis.

The proposals submitted by the socialist participating states in July and November 1980, which go a long way toward accommodating the Western side, and the unilateral withdrawal of 20,000 Soviet soldiers and 1,000 tanks from the GDR have remained without response from the participating NATO states. Instead they seek to disguise their continuing lack of readiness to contribute to advances behind the well known "numbers game."

In fact, such an attitude comes down to subverting a reduction of military confrontation in Europe. The socialist states have thus called upon the NATO states to make a political decision for the first agreement, leaving out of account the controversial discussion of figures. On a basis of trust created by such an agreement negotiations could then be continued on a second reduction phase while the issue of figures comes under further discussion. The socialist states are meeting their responsibility with the greatest patience and solidity of principle in the up to now only body for negotiations through a concrete, jointly agreed up mandate for armed forces and arms reduction in Central Europe. To get to positive results, however, realism and concessions by only one side are not enough. Needed above all are commensurate steps by the NATO states, whose move it still is in Vienna.

### For an All-European Forum Negotiating on Military Detente

A firm component of the comprehensive program of the socialist states for bringing about in the 1980's a turn to halting the arms race and to disarmament is their initiative for summoning an all-European conference on military detente and disarmament. At the Madrid conference the states that took part in CSCE are engaged in a harsh issue about that problem. By deciding to summon such a conference, the Madrid conference could greatly contribute to the consolidation and development of peaceful coexistence among states with differing social orders. Even though the most aggressive imperialist circles, especially those in the United States and its closest allies, keep erecting obstacles to summoning such

a conference, it still is beginning to assume distinct contours. It is meant to proceed in two phases, the first to be devoted to confidence-inspiring measures, and then disarmament problems are to be dealt with. The confidence-inspiring measures of the future are meant to become militarily important, politically binding and properly controllable in substance. That conference is meant to continue the CSCE process in the military field.

Due to NATO's attitude, the place and time of the conference and the geographic zone to which the confidence-inspiring measures are to apply are still undecided. The USSR has proposed to extend that zone over the whole European part of the Soviet Union (according to the Final Act of Helsinki such measures--as far as the USSR is concerned--apply to a strip of 250 km in width along its western border), provided the Western states are ~~comparatively~~ conciliatory. That is only logical and fair.

The proposal on the area of application which the United States has brought in on behalf of the NATO states provides for extending the zone to the whole European part of the USSR but for limiting it on the Western side to continental Europe. This U.S. proposal is not only unbalanced, it evidently aims at unilateral military advantages. Thus it is not astonishing that even Western delegations are describing it as a desire to block the Madrid conference at this advanced stage and to prevent the convoking of an all-European conference altogether. Also with respect to the area of application only such arrangements can be made as are based on equal rights and duties by all participating states--European and non-European. If the NATO states are not ready now to clarify the issue of expanding the area for confidence-inspiring measures, it may also be done at the military detente and disarmament conference. The socialist states are flexible in this regard as well. Yet the NATO states have insisted that issue has to be settled in Madrid itself. There is still hope that the seriousness of the many pronouncements such as "from political intent to success in Madrid," as they have lately been given more of a voice on the Western side, will be attested to by practical steps.

#### **Eliminating Hotbeds for Conflict**

When the most aggressive imperialist circles started their confrontation and arms buildup policy, it immediately affected the crisis regions on our planet--the Near East, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, Southeast Asia and South Africa. Each of these hotbeds of conflict differs from all the others in its development and dynamics and its concrete causes. Yet they all have in common that the reactionary and aggressive circles in those regions are backed by U.S. imperialism which arrogates to itself the right to declare various regions on the earth its "interest spheres" and to shore them up by military means--directly by bases, by tremendous naval formations or the so-called RDF with more than 200,000 men.

The socialist states approach the problem of international hotbeds of conflict, "which not rarely have threatened to grow into a vast conflagration,"<sup>7</sup> with great seriousness and a high sense of responsibility. The peace program of the 26th CPSU Congress, the positions taken by other fraternal parties, and also the 10th SED Congress resolutions attach special importance to eliminating the sources of conflict and expanding detente to all regions in the world.

The GDR is unalterably wedded to the position that peace in the Near East has for its precondition the complete withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Palestinian and Arab regions and the safeguarding of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to return to its homeland and the self-determination and formation of an independent Palestinian state. The separate accords between the United States, Israel and Egypt have worsened the situation. The Near East problem can be settled only through honest and constructive negotiations. A special international conference involving all interested sides could serve that goal.

The GDR also identifies with the Nairobi summit conference resolutions on the Namibia issue. It voted for the resolution of the eighth extraordinary UN special session which condemned the protracted occupation of Namibia and asked for sanctions against South Africa. It actively supports SWAPO. The attack by the South African racist regime on sovereign Angola is decisively condemned. The GDR demands an immediate halt of any military aggression.

The efforts by the contiguous and border states of the Indian Ocean to turn that region into a peace zone are given full support. The GDR likewise supports the constructive proposals on creating nuclear weapon-free zones in Latin America, Africa and the Near East and peace zones in the Mediterranean and in Southeast Asia.

#### Assuming an Active Responsibility for Peace

The fraternal socialist countries, in their efforts at implementing their joint peace program, are willing to cooperate with all forces that are concerned about the current international situation and seek to consolidate peace and security. Contacts among statesmen of countries with differing social orders are extremely necessary and valuable in this. The GDR is making a recognized contribution to it. That is attested to by the internationally significant results of Comrade Erich Honecker's official visits to Mexico, Japan and Austria, and it is also documented by many other meetings and negotiations between representatives of our state and leading personalities of other states.

Implementing the socialist states' peace concept is a tough and lengthy enterprise because this involves, after all, confrontation with strong imperialist forces no one should underrate. Wishful thinking and illusions are as much out of place here as pessimism and doubt in the ability of the peace-loving forces to turn peace into the nations' normal way of life. The peoples of the Soviet Union and of the socialist states firmly allied with it, forming together the strongest bastion of peace, are not alone in this struggle.

More and more emphatically also many nonaligned states condemn the arms buildup and intervention policy of the most aggressive forces, mainly of the United States. An unprecedented range and action capability has been gained by the peace movement in the capitalist countries, mainly in West European states. The march of 500,000 in Washington on 19 September, the biggest anti-war demonstration in the history of the FRG on 10 October in Bonn, 1.5 million signatures thus far for the "Krefeld Appeal," more than 500,000 attending a peace demonstration in West Berlin, 1,200 delegates to the nordic peace conference in Aalborg, peace marches

in a number of NATO states--these are but a few examples of the decisive rejection the military course and the arms madness of the most aggressive NATO circles are increasingly running into. Characteristic of this movement is that it embraces the broadest population strata, people all different in world-outlook and political persuasion. Many party executives are being pressed by the demands from their own membership ranks actively committed to the peace movement. Neither intimidation through job restriction, slander of "communist auxiliaries," demagogical cleavage tactics or the scheming instigation of the lie about the threat have been able to constrain or disorient that movement. And that is only natural, inasmuch as the realization is spreading irrevocably that the only alternative for the danger of general nuclear destruction is halting the arms race, and a third alternative does not exist.

The political, economic and, not last, military strength of the socialist states, the movement for stopping the arms race developing strongly in the capitalist and nonaligned states, the fact that more realistic and reasonable forces even in the ruling circles of imperialist states register reservations against the insane confrontation course of the United States and other NATO allies, the inevitable exacerbation of many ills of imperialism due to the economic and social effects of the arms race--these and other factors of international life nurture an optimism that the resolute struggle for turning to disarmament and carrying on detente will finally succeed despite the tough and by no means decreasing resistance from the most aggressive imperialist circles.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 26.
2. Cf. Oskar Fischer, "The GDR Is Committed to an Active Peace-Preserving Policy," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 26/27 September 1981, p 6.
3. Erich Honecker, "Positive GDR-Mexican Relations Serve the Safeguarding of Peace," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 28 August 1981, p 1.
4. L. I. Brezhnev, "26th CPSU Congress--CPSU Central Committee Status Report and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 40.
5. Ibid.
6. L. I. Brezhnev, "The Outstanding Heroism of the Defenders of Tula," "Auf dem Wege Lenins" (On Lenin's Path), Vol 6, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1979, p 323.
7. L. I. Brezhnev, "26th CPSU Congress . . .," op. cit., p 39.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

TRADE UNION ACHIEVEMENTS, TASKS REVIEWED

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[Article by Prof Dr Johanna Toepfer, economist, member, SED Central Committee; deputy chairman, National Executive Committee, Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB): "Revolutionary Struggle of German Workers Class for Social Security--Traditions, Lessons and Legacy"]

[Text] The FDGB National Executive Committee sponsored a Scientific Conference on "Traditions, Lessons and Legacy of the German Workers Class' Revolutionary Struggle for Social Security" in [East] Berlin, 30 September-2 October 1981. Johanna Toepfer presented a paper on the conference topic to the 500 participants, domestic and foreign trade union functionaries, representatives of government, social and scientific organizations. EINHEIT is publishing a slightly abridged version of this contribution.

The workers class can gain and successfully secure social progress only if it acts in organized and uniform fashion, with the struggle for peace and the struggle for social security being inseparably combined and the struggle for social security, a component of the political struggle by the workers class for social progress, being led to include all basic human rights.

The FDGB finds its most important mandate in advocating the kind of conditions that guarantee peace, well-being and social security for the people, democracy and humanism permanently. That explains the trade unions' unconditional endorsement of the 10th SED Congress resolutions, which are aimed that way and show us the way toward it. Through its close alliance with the Soviet Union and the other states in the socialist community, the GDR is making its contribution to peace and social progress.

At a time when the capitalist countries are stuck in the deepest crisis since the 1950's, among us the people's prosperity and full employment, growth, stability and social comfort characterize the life of the people. Social security means to

us the right to life, to work, to education, leisure and recreation, a secure income as well as health care, the care for mother and child, for senior citizens and the sick. We create social security for all classes and strata of our people, for every citizen in our country. Social security embraces the protection of the newborn as much as of working man, the veteran, the disabled. To us it is a politically, economically and legally ensured implementation of human rights.

If we reflect on the traditions and lessons of the almost one-and-one-half century of struggle by the German workers class for social security, we may assert, not without pride, that in the GDR that revolutionary struggle has led to results such as could never before be achieved. They rely on the experiences and results in the struggle of revolutionary German social democracy, the KPD and the international workers movement. The revolutionary forces in the German workers class were aware the everyday struggle against the consequences of exploitation was not the final goal of their social movement. That struggle is a compelling need to wrest from the capitalists as many social concessions to the workers as possible. With it, it is a compelling need for organizing and training the workers class for political struggle to overcome the capitalist exploiter system.

In moving toward its definitive liberation the workers class in our country overcame the influence of opportunism which creates the illusion that capitalism can be reformed and would peacefully, step by step, turn into a society of social justice. The communists and revolutionary forces in the trade unions unmasked the reactionary designs of the opportunists who were preaching class harmony between the exploiters and the exploited, intent on preserving and stabilizing capitalism. The capitalist social order, having entered its imperialist stage meanwhile, had long proven unable to solve the vital problems of working men. Through a calamitous succession of crises and wars, German imperialism had brought us poverty and misery, death and devastation. If its crime against the peoples were not to recur, its power had to be broken.

The founding of the GDR in 1949 therefore is a decisive turning point in the history of the German workers movement and the German people which had been initiated with the liberation from fascism. For the first time a German state had been created that conformed with the inevitabilities of the world historic era of transition from capitalism to socialism. Thanks to the Soviet Union's act of liberation and its solidary aid, to the existence of the socialist countries and the unity of the workers class, the almost one-and-one-half century of struggle by the revolutionary German workers movement was led to victory. In the GDR, the workers class, under SED leadership, preserves and implements all the humanistic and revolutionary traditions of the German people. It takes the lessons of its long sacrificial struggle to heart, the most important one of them is this: the struggle for peace and the struggle for social security must be inseparably combined.

Imperialist armaments and war policy is incompatible with humanity's striving for social security. The history of the German people documents that war preparation and war bring nothing but suffering, pain and misery to one's own people and for other peoples. From this the FDGB also derives its obligation not to confine the trade union mandate to the struggle for improving its members' social condition but to advocate first and foremost, as a fundamental task of trade

union activity, the preservation and safeguarding of peace. Two world wars have been unleashed in our century by German imperialism. Some 54 million dead, 90 million wounded, 28 million injured, and 4,000 billion dollars destroyed in value--that was the bill the workers class, the working people themselves, had to pay in World War II. The frightful consequences the war had for the workers class and all working people contrasted with the profit made by monopoly capital: in World War II alone, M 70 billion for the German and \$ 123 billion for the American.

With the victory over Hitler fascism a new chapter opened in the history of the German people. The Soviet Union had borne the main burden in the war and made the greatest sacrifice for the liberation of the European peoples. Socialism and its most important bulwark, the Soviet Union, are the decisive reason for ensuring the longest peace period in this century for Europe after 1945 and for preventing, above and beyond that, armed conflicts in other parts of the world from growing into worldwide catastrophe.

The peace movement in the West European countries, grown into a political force in recent months, embodies the will and resolution of the peoples to defend their vital interests and not become a nuclear hostage to the United States. Today it is apparent to anyone that the arms buildup more and more coincides with social reductions, the curtailment of the social rights won, the increase in the host of unemployed and increasing social insecurity. High armaments expenditures provide the monopolies with top profits even before a war and consume the funds for social ends. That also is the main reason why the most reactionary imperialist forces are torpedoing the detente course and have returned to the course of confrontation. Disarmament cuts into the armament monopolies' gigantic profits. Annual world armament expenditures now come to more than \$ 400 billion, which is more than \$ 1.1 billion per day. Since 1960, NATO has more than tripled its arms budgets. Its military expenditures in the last 10 years alone exceed \$ 1.5 trillion. On the other hand, e.g., the United States has no national health and pension insurance system to this day, let along a comprehensive social insurance.

Inroads on social benefits for the working people are intensifying also in West European capitalist countries. It is typical that the proponents of social welfare reductions are using arguments today which the workers and their trade unions have been familiar with throughout history. A portion of the FRG press maligns the unemployed as playboys of today, as loafers and notorious shirkers. Today as in the past, the haute bourgeoisie seeks demagogically to justify the reductions in social welfare as a finance source for the arms buildup and to blame the working people for it.

The arms race, initiated by imperialism, deprives mankind of enormous resources in labor capacity, natural resources, production capacities and funds. Take the UN resolution 3093 A on "reducing the military budgets of the permanent members of the UN Security Council by 10 percent and using a portion of the funds released thereby as aid to developing countries." The reduction of arms expenditures as envisaged therein could yield some \$ 40 billion annually for improving the material standard of living and social condition of the working people. Such funds could be used to fight against hunger, poverty and illness in the world.

International UN organizations have found that more than 1 billion people in the world are starving, one out of two each being critically undernourished. Some 80,000 children starve to death in the world each day. Of a total of 1.6 billion children, circa 600 million are forced down below the poverty subsistence minimum. Some 52 million children are drawn into the labor process, in part under the most disgraceful conditions. Four-fifths of the rural population in the developing countries and the poor in the cities of highly developed capitalist states have no access at all to medical care.

Returning to detente and targeted disarmament would have a positive effect on social progress in all regions in the world. That requires the solidarity of the trade unions, whatever their political leanings, for a common struggle against the arms race, the U.S. military hegemonic drive, the building of the neutron weapon. A solidarity of the European trade unions is needed against the deployment of new medium-range missiles in Western Europe. As to the FDGB, it stands firmly on the ground of the GDR's peace concept as announced by the 10th SED Congress. And it is ready for solidarity, for a joint struggle with all trade union organizations, on behalf of peace and on behalf of the social well-being of its members, for the preservation of peace.

The experiences of the German workers movement have taught us another historic lesson: The struggle for social security can succeed only if it is conducted as a component of the political working class struggle for social progress.

Limits and spaces for social achievements are inevitably determined by any given and prevailing economic, political and social power relations. History and contemporary life have demonstrated that the interests of the workers class and all the working people are incompatible with the rule of the exploiter class, the power of the monopolies. The nature of the capitalist social order is such that the rulers confine the working people's social struggle as narrowly as possible. Stating that fact does not mean slighting the every-day struggle for social objectives in capitalism. On the contrary, the more organized and cohesive that struggle is, the farther can the workers class expand those limits which were drawn by its adversary. Recent years and months especially have provided vivid examples of successful struggles by the workers, employees and other working people in West European countries. We are watching those activities with concern and great sympathy. We also believe that the existence of socialist countries--including the GDR--with their high degree of social security provides our combative colleagues in the capitalist countries with moral backing. A glance at history and at our times shows that wars and crises at once destroy what had been achieved in social progress through long years of tough conflict. Social improvements in capitalism are unstable, their duration is in doubt, social security remains unobtainable. That is why it was of great importance for the workers class in Germany to wrest social legislation from the bourgeois state in the outcome of social contest, forcing it to make available part of its budget for social welfare purposes for the working people. The bourgeois state, the power organ of the propertied, lets nothing go voluntarily, of course, and whatever concessions it has to make is dressed up to appear as if it stems from a social conscience of those in power. The German workers class has had its experience with that. Time and time again have the results of its struggle to improve its social condition been misused to disguise the exploitation relationship, the class character of the state in capitalism, so as to create the illusion of some so-called modified capitalism.

One hundred years after Bismarck's social legislation the historic experiences of the German workers class remain highly pertinent.

It can clearly be seen that capitalism is nowhere in the position to solve the problems of the masses. Arms buildup and the threat of war, unemployment and the curtailment of social welfare are incompatible with the working people's interest in peace, work and social security. As always the workers and their trade unions are facing the compelling need resolutely to defend their vital interests against profit greed and armaments madness. What with all the results to be acknowledged--social security, social comfort for the whole workers class and all working people remains unattainable in capitalism. When the trade unions in the GDR irrevocably opted for the new social order, for socialism, they took it for a fact that thereby the old barriers against genuine social security would come down and new room would be given for a policy enabling the working class to turn into the leading class that exercises the power in society. Our decision turned out to be correct. Through the destruction of the fascist-capitalist German state, through rendering impotent the corporations, monopolies and war profiteers and creating the people's property, and through passing the power into the hands of the workers class, fundamental prerequisites were created for a social policy in the interest of the working people. From the very beginning the SED had clear ideas of how this social policy was to be structured. This it set down in 1946 in the "SED's sociopolitical guidelines." Among the fundamental tasks was the creation of a uniform social insurance to be managed by the trade unions, and was a systematic improvement of health care and social welfare based on unified legal standards. These demands consistently continued the revolutionary traditions of the German proletariat and its struggle for improving its social situation, which had started one-and-one-half centuries ago with the accident, sickness and old age insurance scheme. The new start was of course immeasurably hard.

The basis for a new social policy was extremely narrow. The solidary aid of the Soviet Union gave us courage, fortitude and confidence in ourselves to be able to begin a democratic reconstruction amidst our shambles and despair. Among the first tasks of the antifascist-democratic forces was setting up uniform free trade unions. A uniform social insurance was created. The educational privilege was broken and measures were taken to have the workers class, with help from the trade unions, take part in the management and planning of the economy and the society.

Step by step we brought to realization the equality of women as a firm component of our struggle for establishing a democratic and, eventually, a socialist social order. In their struggle for the democratization of public life the workers class and its allies came to realize that only under socialist conditions could social security be granted all-around and extended systematically. Public property and the political power of the workers class became decisively prerequisite to moving the interests of the working people into the center of all public activity. The socialist state executed the will of the workers class, made into law, and created our social security for the workers class and, ultimately, for the people at large.

A socialist CDR for more than three decades furnishes irrefutable evidence to that the workers class is historically called upon and is capable to direct its destiny and that of the entire people with success, to manage the economy and the society, and to combine economic and social progress in firm unity. In the last decade we were particularly successful in developing social security for all citizens. Our declared main task is further to elevate the people's material and cultural standard of living based on a high developmental speed of socialist production, greater efficiency, scientific-technical progress and increased labor productivity. Such a policy with its tangible results awakens and encourages the working people's initiative. It commits them to higher economic dedication because it gives them the everyday experience that they themselves benefit from the results of their labor and skill. Every citizen, every family and every work collective has been able to derive an immediate benefit from our social policy of the last 10 years.

All trade union proposals for our social policy became an element of joint party, trade union and government resolutions and obtained the force of law. These joint resolutions are the outcome of close cooperation and identities in the shaping of the life of the workers class and the people at large. They reflect the greater authority and strength of our class organization and its high responsibility as the working people's agent. That economic and social policy are firmly united among us is among the essential experiences the people have been making. Some facts may illustrate our successful social policy during the last 10 years: between 1971 and 1980, some 1.4 million dwelling units were newly built or modernized. Thus the housing conditions in the last 10 years improved for circa 4.25 million people. Rentals remained stable and on the average come to from 3 to 5 percent of a family's net income.

Net monetary income of the population is rising steadily. Since 1976, e.g., M 6.7 billion were spent for a proficiency-oriented wage policy and higher minimum wages. A total of 1.8 million production workers got production wages in the form of proficiency-oriented basic pay--while our scientific labor organization was improved at the same time. Proficiency-oriented salaries were introduced for circa 450,000 master workmen and university and technical school graduates. Minimum wages were raised once more in 1976, to M 400. In connection with that there came differentiated pay raises up to M 500. All that affects in particular the income of the workers class. In the economy, the average monthly gross income per worker and employee rose from circa M 700 in 1970 to M 1,030 in 1980.

A total of M 17 billion was spent for higher pensions and social welfare benefits in the 1970's. In recent years, important measures came into effect to reduce the working people's legal working time and lengthen their recreational vacation. Annual vacation was extended by 3 days for 8.7 million working people in 1979. More than 1.2 million shift workers in 1977 got an extra 3-day vacation. Their working time was reduced to 42 or 40 hours per week. For circa 750,000 of them, working in three shifts or two subsequent ones, this extra vacation was raised once again in 1981 to 5 or 8 or 10 days. Starting in September 1981, apprenticeship money and scholarships for technical school and college students were raised. That also was the time when we started to provide training subsidies for all students, starting with 11th grade. Thereby every young citizen in this group,

without exception and irrespective of the income and position of his parents, receives a perceptible financial recognition for his training achievements in the interest of society.

We shall continue this policy also in the 1980's, under more complicated conditions. It has full trade union support. These are common and agreed-upon goals we are tackling here, tasks the working class in alliance with the cooperative farmers and all working strata is solving through effective work and high achievements for the all-round strengthening of socialism in our country. Social security for all citizens is and remains a component of the continued shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR.

Among the most important experiences in our more than 30 years of constructing socialism in the GDR is that the struggle for social security has to include the totality of basic human rights, i.e., the right to life, work, education, taking part in the management and planning of all social processes, leisure and recreation and a secure income, and health care, the care for mother and child, the senior citizens and the sick.

Social security is indivisible. We therefore have always conceived of it as a cohesive composite of social, occupational and population policy measures. In this we regard the right to work as one of the most fundamental conditions. Also in the history of the German workers movement it proved to be the cardinal issue: through unemployment capitalism produced one of the worst scourges for the working people. A permanent host of unemployed is used as pressure against social demands by the employed and the trade unions, as blackmail against workers who still have jobs, as means for curtailing social welfare benefits and raising monopoly profits, and as a cleaver against the workers class. At the climax of the 1932 world economic crisis the German Reich at the time had over 7 million unemployed. Today the FRG has 1.3 million, and further increases are expected.

Among the achievements of the GDR is that job security was constitutionally guaranteed and brought to realization. We have no unemployed and shall have none in the future. Work is the most important source for the material wealth of society, on it depend the opportunities for improving one's living standard. With it, man develops his personality in the labor process, finds recognition for the achievements he performs and can apply the knowledge and skills he has acquired.

The prognosis of our adversary is that because of continuing scientific-technical progress we too will soon have unemployed. He need not rack his brain over it, that is completely superfluous. Thanks to the advantages of socialism we are in the position to combine scientific-technical progress and economic growth with increasing social comforts of the people. In our workers and farmers state each scientific-technical achievement, all growth in productivity, is of benefit to the people and does not lead to unemployment. Part of our economic strategy for the 1980's also is our rationalization and our saving of jobs. Yet that is not done against the workers but rather together w'th them. If a worker must change jobs, he enjoys legal guarantees for retaining his wages, bonuses and

other material recognition, for the training he may then need without loss in pay, or for the length of his vacation. All that is agreed upon in good time in the relevant labor contracts with the working people, with endorsements required in each case from the enterprise trade union management. Not all problems, of course, that may come up with accepting a new job can be resolved by legal means. Yet it is intrinsic to our social order that the trade unions enjoy great opportunities and control rights for taking part in settling all social problems.

A guaranteed right to work is inseparable from ensuring the right to education for all. Among our first measures after 1945 was our breaking the educational monopoly by opening the universities, colleges and all educational institutions to the sons and daughters of the workers and farmers. Today, attending our 10-grade polytechnical secondary school is mandatory in the GDR. Some 86 percent of the young people who started their vocational training this year is made up of 10th grade graduates. Girls have the same educational and developmental opportunities as boys. All school graduates find an apprenticeship available. Replacements are trained in 291 occupations, 35 special crafts among them. The instruction facilities of 727 enterprise vocational schools and 254 communal vocational schools and the more than 500 apprentice workshops offer modern training. And the right to education is not confined to youth only in the GDR. We attach special importance to the training and advanced training of all working people because these measures also serve to equip the working people for the demands made by the scientific-technical revolution.

The GDR Constitution furthermore ensures all working people of the right to take part in the management and planning of the state and the economy. That is brought about in diverse forms on many different levels and handled mainly by the trade unions. Settling any question in the shaping of our socialist society, the management and planning of our economy, the implementation of the scientific-technical revolution, the development of working and living conditions, health protection and labor safety, and intellectual-cultural life calls for authoritative trade union participation. So it has been set down by our Constitution.

The trade union mandate thus entails all domains in the public life of working man. Thus in this also no decision is made without trade union involvement. The responsibility of the trade unions for determining the performance/benefit ratio, the material and moral incentives for work achievements, and the development of our social policy requires that they submit proposals, develop initiatives and take an active part in decision-making and the implementation of decisions made. Every year the working people in all enterprises discuss the national economic plan for the year to come. Trade union membership in the plan discussion this year came to 85 percent. More than 4 million of the members spoke in the discussion and presented over a million proposals and recommendations.

The trade unions in the GDR, according to the Constitution, have the right to legislative initiative. The labor code in force, e.g., came as an FDGB initiative. Its draft was examined through a broad democratic debate that included nearly 150,000 proposals from the working people. In the end the Ninth FDGB Congress approved the draft and handed it over to the People's Chamber for its review and decision-making. This way a labor code had been generated that bears the signature of the workers class and the working people at large. It

reflects the GDR's penetrating social advances in the 1970's. While bolstering our legality and law security our labor code also strengthens the role of the trade unions.

Social security also includes the right to being paid for work performed proper as to quality and quantity. The principle of "equal pay for equal performance" is vested in the GDR Constitution. Remuneration is governed by the performance principle: he who contributes the most to public wealth also should enjoy the greatest benefit from it.

The scope of social security is determined, not insignificantly, by public funds. These state allocations serve housing construction, public education, public health, subsidies for mother and child, for the family and young couples, recreation and old-age care. From them also are paid, however, the subsidies for a policy on stable retail prices for commodities of everyday need, which make up more than four-fifths of our entire merchandise inventory, and for stable rentals and services. From the national budget alone, an amount of over M 234 billion was allocated for these purposes between 1976 and 1980.

The housing problem is a social problem of the first rank to the workers and trade union movement. It is the goal of our housing construction program to solve this social problem by 1990. This kind of target can indeed be tackled by socialism only, simply because the real estate, housing construction and apartment rentals are no longer subject to the laws of a profit economy and the speculation that goes with it. Among the basic social rights, furthermore, is the right to vacation and recreation. We may point out that in the GDR more than one-third of all days in a year count as leisure time for a working person, with a work week between 40 and 43 3/4 hours. All citizens, regardless of their social condition, have access to recreational opportunities. More than 10.8 vacation trips are annually taken in the GDR. A great and extensive task in this goes to trade union recreation. The FDGB is the chief recreational agent for the workers class. Including the trade union and industrial recreational facilities it can dispose of more than 4.6 million vacation spots. And it makes a difference that a vacationer himself needs to pay only for circa one-third of actual costs. Two-thirds come from his trade union and from his socialist state. We attach great value to developing family recreation and taking care of the veterans of labor and of disabled citizens. It is a great social achievement that will be systematically further extended throughout the 1980's.

In developing and perfecting the GDR's social security we proceed from a streamlined social welfare policy. And we apply our funds in such a way that account is taken of differentiated needs by mothers, big families, and shift workers. Thus, in the last 5 years we spent more than M 2 billion alone on sociopolitical measures in support of working mothers and obstetrics. That included measures such as lengthening the pregnancy and maternity furlough from 18 to 26 weeks, excuse from work, with pay, for mothers after giving birth to their second and each additional child, and the 40-hour work week for mothers with two and more children below 16.

The basic rights of youth deserve special attention. We are proud that our youth has a safe present and future. Each youth has extensive school and vocational training, receives and keeps a job, and there is no income discrimination.

Providing for decent working conditions is one of the cornerstones of basic socialist rights. The labor code commits the state and economic managers to ensure everywhere in the enterprises working conditions under which man feels good and which make increasing demands on qualifications, work experiences and skills. That includes great job safety and the gradual reduction of heavy physical and hazardous work. In only 5 years, for instance, we have organized or reorganized vastly more than 1 million jobs.

The history of the German workers movement teaches that the workers class can gain and permanently ensure social progress only if it acts in an organized and uniform manner.

Taking to heart the lessons of history, we set up new, free trade unions after our liberation from Hitler fascism. The FDGB is the uniform and most inclusive class organization of the workers class in power. For more than three decades the trade unions have proven resolute agents of their members' interests. At all times throughout GDR history they have shown themselves a mighty force in coping with the material, cultural and social tasks in socialist construction. Socialism can be built only with strong trade unions. Social security is accomplished in our country by that the firm unity and great organization of the workers class--embodied in a unified party and in unified trade unions--produces a maximum of creative work achievements for constantly consolidating, and protecting, socialism. Lasting results in the trade union representation of interests are attainable only if solving everyday tasks is inseparably tied to the struggle for socialism, the state is placed firmly in the hands of the workers and farmers, and the leadership role of the working class party is made to prevail in the trade unions.

The trade unions have a strong influence on our social welfare policy. That pertains to all public domains but is of special importance in our social insurance. In 1956 the GDR Government charged the FDGB with the whole political, organizational and financial management of the workers' and employees' social insurance. Since that time the elected organs of the FDGB, of the labor unions and trade unions, and the enterprise trade union managements, on the basis of our Constitution, the labor code, the FDGB statutes and the resolutions from the FDGB National Executive Committee, have handled the workers' and employees' social insurance. Since then our social insurance has developed into an institution that grants and promotes social security for the workers, employees, pensioners and family members. On the basis of our economic development, its expenditures rose from nearly M 6.7 billion in 1957 to M 24.8 billion in 1980. The essential thing is that our socialist state guarantees the social insurance budget. The subsidies out of the state budget paid to the workers' and employees' social insurance rose from M 613 million in 1957 to almost M 11.5 billion in 1980. This makes sure at all times that the claims guaranteed to the working people through laws and other legal provisions can be met--without any increase in their premium payments. We no longer know such concepts as ordinary, extra or efficiency performance.

The insured, the working people, are taking an active part themselves in solving the various social insurance tasks. During the 1979/80 trade union elections, more than 280,000 authorized social insurance agents were elected in the trade

union groups. Close to 12,000 social insurance councils were set up in the enterprise trade union managements. All FDGB executive boards have trade union sick leave commissions. Trade union grievance commissions on the boards provide high law security. They all support the FDGB boards in planning, managing and implementing the social insurance tasks. That too is an essential part of our socialist democracy in action.

The FDGB finds its most important field of activity in the basic trade union organizations. In the socialist enterprises the workers class to a decisive degree realizes its mission as the leading social force in the GDR. This explains the outstanding importance of the enterprise in trade union activity. There are basic trade union organizations in all combines and almost all enterprises and institutions with a workforce of more than ten. Membership is organized in such a way that one always listens to what a worker has to say, that his suggestions are respected and taken into consideration.

The Constitution of our country and our labor code guarantee and encourage trade union activity in the enterprise. We find the crucial criterion for socialist democracy in its having its foundation and point of departure in the most important domain of public life, in material production. That gives much room to trade union activity in the enterprise. In accordance with the organizational principle, "one enterprise--one trade union," they represent the interests of the entire laborforce in their enterprise without exception and combine all members of an enterprise into strong, uniform and cohesive organizations. For good reasons we gage free trade unions against what they actually do on behalf of their membership and how the individual gets drawn into direct activities on behalf of social progress by his trade union.

In conformity with the FDGB statutes, trade union elections will start in November this year and reach their climax in the 10th FDGB Congress in April 1982. This event in the life of our class organization is going to further consolidate the unity and cohesiveness of the workers class and all working people and solidly unite the trade union organizations in coping with new great tasks. In our country's enterprises over 2 million trade unionists are going to be candidates for voluntary functions. As in the past, once again one out of every four unionists in the GDR, supported by the confidence of his voters, will then work directly on behalf of FDGB membership. In approximately 400,000 election meetings millions will take the floor and offer their propositions on improving our economic efficiency and our working and living conditions, and on developing our intellectual-cultural life.

All-inclusively and uniformly the trade unions direct the creativity of the workers class and the working people at large at constantly consolidating socialism in our country, at the goals of the GDR's interconnected peace, economic and social policy. By such efforts the FDGB lives up to the best traditions of the revolutionary German workers and trade union movement.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

'CENTRISM'S DISASTROUS ROLE' IN LABOR MOVEMENT HISTORY ANALYZED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 166, 12 Nov 81 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "SED Rejection of 'Any Kind of Liberalism.'" A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] Evidently under the impact of the Polish crisis, the theoretical SED journal EINHEIT (No 11, 1981) has asked for taking resolute issue "with all varieties of opportunism." To make sure that neither pluralistic Marxism interpretations nor bourgeois conceptions of freedom sneak into party ranks, the Leninist party norms were to be strictly observed. All historic experience had confirmed "what dangerous consequences could arise for a party's leadership activity and fighting ability from seemingly small compromises and any kind of liberalism particularly in these matters." Opportunism could be effectively met only "if democratic centralism is rigorously applied as the basic principle and the management instruments and the most important organs that form and convey ideology" are in the hands of the Marxist-Leninist forces and orient the masses. Theoretical and ideological vigilance, an ever more thorough study of Marxism-Leninism, and a growing ability creatively to apply the communist doctrine and the communist world movement's store of practical experience should be constantly ensured and organized. That way alone one could make sure "that no one can pretend to be a Marxist-Leninist who surrenders its position, that no demands can be declared to be in the workers' interests while they serve the imperialist adversary, and that no illusions are created where realistic assessments, inferences and deeds on behalf of socialism are necessary and wanted." EINHEIT underscored that the "might and strength of the SED" depended, not last, on that it "never gave room to opportunistic deviations."

SED Scholar's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 11, Nov 81 (signed to press 14 Oct 81)  
pp 1162-1168

[Article by Prof Dr Annelies Laschitzka, sector chief, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee: "Centrism in the History of the German Workers Movement--Lessons From an Important Phase of Our History"]

[Text] In our country, under SED leadership, the lessons of history have been taken to heart, and they include the

experiences of the struggle against centrism on the eve of World War I. Without wishing to acquit the revisionists and reformists from their chief responsibility, centrism yet, as a most dangerous variety of opportunism, bears an essential blame for the decline at that time of German Social Democracy as a revolutionary Marxist mass party. The might and strength of our party depend, not last, on that it never gave room to opportunistic deviations and also that it deprived centrism of any effective chance.

Studying the history of the workers movement is a strong factor in shaping awareness. It conveys important experiences for coping with the revolutionary tasks of the present and, with it, strengthens the conviction that in our country, under SED leadership, the lessons of history have been consistently absorbed. This applies in particular to the fundamental lesson from the history of the German workers movement that was drawn with the founding of the SED and its development as a militant Marxist-Leninist party, of which the Party Program says: "The workers class can fulfill its historic mission only if it eliminates the split of its ranks caused by imperialism and opportunism, establishes its unity on a revolutionary basis and is led by a determined, cohesive, battle-tested Marxist-Leninist party closely affiliated with the masses."<sup>1</sup>

This realization grew, not last, out of the experiences and the analysis of an important phase in the history of the German workers movement and the German people--the time when capitalism entered its imperialist stage, which also was the eve of the outbreak of World War I. When one studies this historic phase, the interesting question is often raised: how could it happen that opportunism acquired such a destructive influence in Germany's Marxist mass party which was still revolutionary at the turn of the century, and that right-wing social democratic leaders could misuse it in 1914 in support of the imperialist war?

#### The Open Outbreak of the Crisis in German Social Democracy

On 4 August 1914, when the first imperialist world war had become a brutal fact, the social democratic faction in the German Reichstag voted for the war credits and, thus, for the imperialist war for the benefit of German imperialism. The opportunistic leaders of German Social Democracy, who by force had gained this consent, appeared to have turned a party of the revolutionary class struggle overnight into a party favoring opportunistic class reconciliation. Unconsciously they betrayed the working class interests and for all intents and purposes bankrupted the Second International.

Many upright social democrats and some million followers of theirs found their world had collapsed. Democracy, peace and socialism is what they had wanted, what they had fought for, but now they were supposed to go to war, murder and ravage! Voting for war credits was in complete opposition to the desire for peace by most members of the Social Democratic Party and the workers class at large, and to the joy in peace in other classes and strata of the German people. It contradicted the resolutions of international socialist congresses of Stuttgart,

1907, Copenhagen, 1910, and Basel, 1912, and it was furthermore in conflict with Karl Liebknecht and 13 other deputies in the social democratic faction itself. With their slogans of the "defense of the fatherland" and of "civil truce," the opportunistic leaders, furthermore, even supported the imperialists and militarists ideologically. These orgies, as Rosa Luxemburg wrote, "held under the hypocritical shingles of 'fatherland,' 'culture,' 'freedom,' and 'international law,' devastating countries and cities, debasing culture, squashing freedom and international law, are a flagrant betrayal of socialism."<sup>2</sup>

Fateful damage had been done. The old revolutionary German Social Democratic Party, the party of August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, had been realigned by opportunism in scarcely more than 15 years into a social reformist, anti-Marxist and counterrevolutionary workers party restraining millions of workers from their class and peace struggle and subjecting them to imperialist warfare. "The masses, betrayed by their leaders in the critical moment, had no chance to do anything," V. I. Lenin wrote.<sup>3</sup>

How could that happen? Still a few days before the outbreak of war, thousands and thousands had demonstrated, under the leadership of the Social Democratic Party, against militarism and war danger. At the annual party congresses before 1914, revisionists and reformists had for the most part been called to task. All official party announcements expressed the working people's interests and demands. International activities and demonstrations were the order of the day. And then this 4 August 1914!

The more intensively this question is studied, the clearer it becomes: much blame for the doom of the German Social Democratic Party as a revolutionary party goes to centrism as a most dangerous opportunism in pseudo-Marxist and pseudo-revolutionary garb.<sup>4</sup> This cannot and must not acquit the revisionists and reformists in the German Social Democratic Party of the main blame for splitting the party and the workers movement. But it is meant to help explain why and how the right-wing opportunist forces, despite the resistance shown to them within German social democracy, acquired such a decisive influence that they could alter completely the character, objective, strategy and tactics of that party.

Centrism it was which, with its appeasement, helped efface and conceal those contradictions and, with its pseudo-Marxism and pseudo-radicalism, covered up the crisis in German social democracy that had come into being long before 1914.

#### The Danger of Centrism

The German Social Democratic Party was the first party in which centrism fully came into its own. Greatly under Karl Kautsky's influence centrism turned into that opportunistic current of which Lenin in 1911 affirmed as its characteristic "to despise the program and seek to abridge, curtail, it in any possible way, without making the least attempt for any genuine, decisive revision. 'Revisionism,' in its specific meaning as a bourgeois castration of the Marxist truths, is characteristic of the era in which we live, not as militant revisionism that raises the 'banner of revolt,' but as a cowardly and covert denial that is often justified by 'practical,' allegedly practical considerations."<sup>5</sup>

Centrism began to emerge as a broadly opportunistic current in the German Social Democratic Party since 1905/1906. An essential cause for it was the intensifying issue between the Marxists and the revisionists/reformists on the basic question of the class struggle in the period of imperialism and the proletarian revolutions. Mainly in the debate on assessing and analyzing the first revolution in Russia, opinions differed. In this context centrism arose, even if hardly tangibly at first, as an ideology of reconciling, concealing and disguising the antagonisms of principle between revisionism and Marxism. In terms of its basic anti-Marxist and antirevolutionary orientation, its objective function in splitting the workers movement, and its socioeconomic base inevitably tying it to imperialism, centrism is identical with revisionism and all other manifestations of opportunism.

Not until spring 1910, however, centrism began to take stronger effect and come fully into its own, when a political crisis got started and it became necessary to understand and evaluate the new situation, redefine the strategy and tactics and apply new ways and means in the class struggle. Which goes to say it started blocking and diluting the party at the very moment that the workers class had to cope with the difficulties of a new crisis-like situation, needed the party orientation for that, and the conflicts between the revolutionaries and reformists were exacerbated over it.

Karl Kautsky became the "theoretician" of centrism. Except for Rosa Luxemburg, against whom he landed in sharp polemics about massive strikes, for the time being no one in the German workers movement got the notion that Kautsky, who had just published his Marxist tract, "The Way to Power," could assume opportunistic positions and turn into the most influential centrist.

Not that Karl Kautsky denied there was a new situation in 1910, only he did not think it ripe for applying new means in the proletarian struggle. Rather, the workers class should become more open-minded to the liberalism of the bourgeoisie. Nor did Kautsky deny the proletarian revolution as his perspective, but how to approach the proletarian revolution one should not think about, and it should not be propagated as long as it was not there. Kautsky did come out against the reformists, but everything that he suggested came down to merely asking for reforms for the time being, assessing parliamentary struggle and bourgeois democracy too heavily and gradually wearing out the adversary. Kautsky was for peace and wanted to avert the danger of war, but he sought to prevent the imperialists from their arms race and war instigation less by means of revolutionary proletarian methods of struggle but rather by "reasoning with them" through taxes, appeals and such.

Kautsky and his followers did not openly defy the interests and goals of the workers class, they did not openly renounce the revolutionary party traditions and class positions. On the contrary, they pretended they were the real Marxists and accused the true Marxists of dogmatism and unruly adventurism. By maligning the positions of the Marxists they thus deflected from how through this centrist stance the crucial Marxist principles were successively thrown overboard. Also, Kautsky only appeared to be undogmatic. De facto he declared his social-reformist, social-pacifistic and conciliatory nations dogmas. Kautsky mainly proceeded to spread his own opinions by controlling the theoretical party organ, influencing

many journalists and party functionaries who thought of themselves as disciples of the Marxist Kautsky, and preventing leftists from saying anything about it. The freedom of opinion he pretended to grant everyone, did apply to all yet not to consistent Marxists. With slander and intrigues Kautsky staged a conflict with Franz Mehring, which would destroy him as the Marxist editor of NEUE ZEIT. With Clara Zetkin he had a falling out over basic situation assessments concerning the German and international workers movement.

In essence centrism neither was the "Marxist center," which its representatives claimed it was, nor a "middle" trend. Rather it was an especially dangerous off-shoot of opportunism because in words it opposed revisionism and posed as Marxism although theoretically it came down to a revision of Marxism. Verbally it opposed reformism but in practice subscribed to reformism and sought de facto a social-liberal but not a revolutionary workers policy. On top of that its effect was most confusing because it boasted it was the preserver of party unity and constantly produced conciliatory commentaries on the party situation, while in fact it helped deepen the cleavage in German social democracy, and this to the extent that it managed to cover up the crisis spreading in the party and to malign the German leftists.

Rosa Luxemburg became such a hated opponent of Kautsky because she was the first who, sure in her aim, pointed to his vulnerable spots. Already in 1910 she disclosed some striking contradictions. He who in solidarity had welcomed the first revolution in Russia and had studied and analyzed its impulses and forms of struggle, at the very moment when one must not only theoretically side with these new experiences but also apply them practically in one's own country, would massively oppose even taking them into account. So it did not take long for him to place in doubt the international importance of the first revolution in Russia for Western Europe altogether. Right after coming into its own in history centrism appeared full of nationalistic arrogance toward the achievements and experiences of the Russian workers movement, which later expanded into open hostility to Soviet Russia and the Bolshevik party.

The centrists from the outset not only dimmed the view to what was new in the struggle by the international workers movement against imperialism, in their national presumption they absolutized the practices of their own party and directly interfered with the party development of the Social Democratic Workers Party of Russia. Furthermore, in the German press there were hardly any but Mensheviks who would be allowed to write about the situation in Russia and the Russian workers movement. This way one got to the distortions of internationalism that helped pave the way for social chauvinism, social pacifism and anti-Sovietism.

Under centrist influence, which would not only theoretically justify the positions of right-wing opportunism and help smooth the way for its representatives to leadership organizations, but whose representatives themselves would grab important functions and squeeze the Marxists out of their party functions, a situation arose in the last prewar years that was like the one which Lenin, in a different context, had described, right after the turn of the century, as follows: scientific socialism in the hands of those forces ceased to be "a unified revolutionary theory and became a mishmash that was diluted 'as anyone saw fit' with banalities from every new German textbook; the 'class struggle' slogan, rather than furnishing

the impetus for an increasingly broader and more energetic activity, served as a palliative; the idea of a party served not as a call for founding a fighting organization of the revolutionaries but justified some 'revolutionary chancery bureaucratism' and childishly toying with 'democratic' forms."<sup>6</sup>

Through an opportunistic control of the most important functions and leadership bodies, the spreading of social reformist and social-pacifistic illusions among the members and followers of the Social Democratic Party, the constant defamation of the German left wing and targeted measures to restrain its influence in the party, conditions arose under centrist influence which made it possible for the right-wing opportunists in collusion with the centrists to grab the power in the party right in the new situation that the outbreak of war had conjured up. Through a workers policy that was bourgeois but was camouflaged by socialist sloganry, they helped the bourgeoisie conduct an imperialist predatory war. Whether the individual centrists and their adherents were aware of it or not, whether they actually wanted it or not, objectively, centrism accelerated the destruction of German Social Democracy as a revolutionary Marxist mass party of the workers class. What was and remained difficult about it was that centrism was hard to comprehend and recognize for many, as Lenin observed, in a general way: "All followers of the 'center' swear by their word of honor they are Marxists, internationalists and for peace. The 'center' is the realm of the conciliatory petty bourgeois clap-trap, of internationalism in words, of cowardly opportunism and subservience to the social chauvinists in action. The heart of the matter is that the 'center' is not convinced of the need for revolution against their own governments, does not propagate it, engages in no relentless revolutionary struggle and invents against it the most insipid evasions that sound arch-Marxist."<sup>7</sup>

#### Experiences and Lessons From the Struggle Against Centrism

The emergence and open outbreak of the crisis in German Social Democracy prove the correctness of Lenin's assessment of centrism as particularly dangerous. This it is because the essentially bourgeois ideology and policy it champions hide behind pseudo-radicalism, pseudo-Marxism and appeasement.

The contradiction between words and deeds that is inherent in centrism left so much leeway within the German Social Democracy for the spreading of opportunism and, at once, helped conceal the ideological cleavage due to opportunism, so that centrism became extremely hard to recognize over the years and its party-splitting role became apparent not until the moment of open crisis came.

In 1911 Lenin wrote: "False and mendacious in appeasement is the basis--the desire to erect proletarian party unity on the alliance of all, including the anti-social democratic and nonproletarian factions."<sup>8</sup> Appeasement, being one of the characteristics of centrism, had especially deforming effects within the party, as it managed to exploit and misuse much that was positive in the attitude of the members: their pride in the party history tradition and their determination to preserve party unity.

Motives for appeasement can be most diverse and come from honest intentions. In its tendency, however, appeasement as a rule leads to opportunistic concessions and to forcing the Marxists back. "Reconciling" persons and groups—that is the main point," Lenin wrote in describing appeasement. "If they do not agree on how a common line is to be carried out, that line must be so interpreted that it becomes acceptable to all. To 'plug .,' suppress the sources of controversies, 'settle conflicts' at any cost, neutralize hostile and opposed directions—that receives the chief attention of such 'appeasement.'" Yet what was involved in the conflicts between the Marxist and opportunists always were key issues in the solution of the historic mission of the workers class, the question of power and of the proletarian revolution, the role of the party and of proletarian internationalism, questions, in other words, for the settling of which there is no middle ground but only the either/or between the two implacable ideologies—the socialist and the bourgeois.

In the crisis of German social democracy it became apparent all too soon that the centrists, as the "guardians of unity" and the "true Marxists," had a major share in the decline of German social democracy as a revolutionary mass party of the workers class and its losing its international model role. Centrism complicated and prevented the formation of a party of a new type, which had become a compelling necessity in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolutions for a successful struggle by the workers class and its allies.

The rightist-opportunist forces in collusion with centrists managed to make the German social democracy so inoperative when the war broke out for meeting the anti-imperialist tasks of working class struggle also because, under centrist influence, the unity and cohesiveness of the party had been proclaimed officially and constantly and been formally preserved up to 4 August 1914. The truth was that since capitalism had entered its imperialist stage and because of there being trends and representatives of two class lines, that of Marxism and of opportunism, ideological antagonisms had sharpened. Contradictory views affected the party policy and the party membership, so that there had to be confusion from which exclusively the enemies of the workers class benefited. Centrism itself brought out its own social-pacifistic and social-reformist concepts and practices, which made the position of the German social democracy on the domestic and foreign policy issues of the class struggle all the more obscure and uncertain. And so it could happen that millions of workers, ready to fight for their class objectives, could not effectively enforce their revolutionary will when the class struggle sharpened crisis-like, opportunists formed a majority in executive organs and in the party apparatus and the press, defamed and, at times, isolated, the Marxists as dogmatists hurting the party, while, to top it all, opportunism managed to camouflage itself with pseudo-Marxist and pseudorevolutionary clap-trap.

Such and certainly still very many other party history experiences with the fatal role of centrism and the complicated struggle against it underscore how important it is to become aware, time and time again, of the lessons in this struggle and take them to heart. That can be done only by a new type of party, by a consistent and creative appropriation and application of Marxism-Leninism.

Successfully opposing centrism as an especially dangerous opportunism and granting it no chances for any influence requires of a revolutionary working class party to care incessantly for the unity and cohesiveness in its ranks on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and resolutely to take issue with all varieties of opportunism.

With it, it means strictly observing the Leninist party norms which ensure that the party's word and deed always agree and that neither pluralistic "Marxism" interpretations nor bourgeois conceptions of freedom can infiltrate its ranks. All historic experience has confirmed what dangerous consequences can arise for a party's leadership activity and fighting ability from seemingly small compromises and any kind of liberalism particularly in these matters.

The Marxist-Leninist forces can effectively counter opportunism spreading under centrist influence only as long as democratic centralism is consistently applied as a fundamental principle and the management instruments and the most important organs that form and convey ideology are in their hands and orient the masses.

Theoretical and ideological vigilance, an ever more thorough study of Marxism-Leninism, and a growing ability creatively to apply the communist doctrine and the communist world movement's store of practical experience must be constantly ensured and organized. That way alone one can make sure that no one can pretend to be a Marxist-Leninist who surrenders its position, that no demands can be declared to be in the workers' interests while they serve the imperialist adversary, and that no illusions are created where realistic assessments, inferences and deeds on behalf of socialism are necessary and wanted.

The might and strength of our party depend, not last, on that it never gave room to opportunistic deviations and also that it deprived centrism of any effective chance. "The history of the SED," as Comrade Erich Honecker has emphasized, "is marked at once by uninterrupted, uncompromising struggle against anticomunism and anti-Sovietism, against nationalism and revisionism, and against all manifestations of reactionary bourgeois ideology. In the struggle for the construction of socialism and against the class enemy and his ideology, our party functionaries have been toughened and has the working people's socialist consciousness developed."

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 6.
2. Rosa Luxemburg, "Gesammelte Werke" (Collected Works), Vol 4, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1974, p 19.
3. V. I. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International," "Werke," Vol 21, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 235.
4. Cf. "Geschichte der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands. Abriss" (SED History--Outline), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1978, p 29.

5. V. I. Lenin, "Questions of Principle for Election Campaigns," "Werke," Vol 17, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1967, p 19.
6. V. I. Lenin, "What Is To Be Done?" "Werke," Vol 5, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1955, p 540.
7. V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution," "Werke," Vol 24, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 61.
8. V. I. Lenin, "About the New Faction of Appeasers or Virtuous Ones," "Werke," Vol 17, p 258.
9. V. I. Lenin, "Notes of a Journalist," "Werke," Vol 16, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 211.
10. Erich Honecker, "Die Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Verwirklichung der Beschlüsse des IX. Parteitages der SED, Reden und Aufsätze" (The Party Tasks in the Continued Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Decisions--Speeches and Essays), Vol 6, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 103.

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## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 11, Nov 81 (signed to press 14 Oct 81)  
'Resumes' addendum

#### The Basic Question of Human Life in Our Time

[Summary of 'Strategies For and Against Peace' feature article by Prof Dr Wolfram Neubert, research group director, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics; pp 1085-1092]

[Text] War or peace--that is the basic question today on which the life and future of humanity depend. In the effort of responding to it, two mutually opposed basic tendencies are found in world politics. The efforts by the respective main forces representing these tendencies are determined by the fundamental characteristics of the two social orders and the classes predominant in them. While the imperialist confrontation and arms buildup strategy threatens the peoples with peril and doom, the socialist peace strategy breaks a path for them into a secure future.

#### NATO and the Confrontation Course of the USA

[Summary of 'Strategies For and Against Peace' feature article by Prof Dr Albrecht Charisius, colonel, GDR Military History Institute; pp 1101-1107.  
A West German commentary on this EINHEIT article is inserted below this summary]

[Text] NATO occupies a key position in the U.S. Government's global strategy on starting a broadly based offensive, mainly by military means, against the main forces of the revolutionary world process. The U.S. Government uses its predominant role, the internal mechanism of the pact which it controls, to integrate NATO to a large degree with its confrontation course despite independent tendencies among its European partners--resulting from their different location in terms of military geography and their far greater dependence on developments on other continents.

### West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 168, 16 Nov 81 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "East Berlin: 'NATO Prepared Counterrevolution in Poland.'" West German commentary on article by Prof Albrecht Charisius in East Berlin EINHEIT, Vol 36 No 11, Nov 81, signed to press 14 Oct 81, pp 1101-1107]

[Text] Eastern attacks against NATO are becoming increasingly sharper. Now the GDR even blames NATO for the situation in Poland. For example, the journal SPORT UND TECHNIK, which is published by GST, the premilitary Society for Sports and Technology, claims in its most recent edition that "what NATO and its intelligence services have prepared" was currently "taking shape more and more. The counter-revolution's grabbing for power in Poland and the attempt to 'roll up' the community of socialist states from within."

The theoretical party journal EINHEIT in its most recent edition (No 11, 1981) aims at the same target. The "East-West Study" which had been confirmed by the NATO Council way back in 1978, contained a "sophisticated program for 'eroding' the social and state order in the socialist countries and for separating them from the USSR during the 1980's." At present, "the aggressive circles of the United States and the other NATO states" paid special attention "to the model case of Poland, which they intend to apply to other socialist states."

Furthermore EINHEIT alleges that the "counterrevolutionary actions" of 1953 in the GDR and of 1956 in Hungary had been initiated and massively supported by "world imperialism."

### Imperialist 'Containment Policy' Against Peace and Progress

[Summary of 'Strategies For and Against Peace' feature article by Sergej Henke, philologist, Institute for International Relations, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence; and Dr Harry Klug, staff employee, SED Central Committee; pp 1108-1114]

[Text] Taking issue with efforts by strategists of the confrontation course to revalorize ideologically imperialist containment by misrepresenting its character and legitimize the current recourse to that policy, in particular by the U.S. Administration, as an acceptable alternative for another world war. The hegemonic and counterrevolutionary objective of this containment policy, pursued mainly by U.S. imperialism in the postwar period, the attempts at implementing its goals and its inherent threat to world peace, the causes that made that policy fail and the needed struggle against a new edition of it.

## In Close Fraternal Alliance With the Soviet Union

[Summary of article by Guenther Sieber, member, department chief, SED Central Committee; pp 1115-1121]

[Text] The indestructible fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the GDR's being deeply moored within the community of socialist states as a stable foundation for the security and growth of our republic's socialist achievements. The new horizons opened for an all-round cooperation among our countries by the recent party congresses of the CPSU and the SED. The common struggle for the safeguarding of peace. The unity of the fraternal socialist countries--a mighty barrier to the designs by the most aggressive imperialist forces.

## Socialist Intensification as Management Task

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Willi Kunz, economist, deputy director, Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, SED Central Committee; chairman, Scientific Council for Problems of Socialist Economic Integration; pp 1132-1138. A West German commentary on this EINHEIT article is inserted below this summary]

[Text] Reaching a qualitatively new level of intensification is imperative for the economic performance growth we need. What are the basic requirements for an intensively expanded reproduction in our economy? Which objective and subjective conditions must be created through scientifically sound and purposeful management--especially also in the combines--to increase our efficiency by way of socialist intensification?

### West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 167, 13 Nov 81 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "Industrial Managers in SED's Line of Fire." West German commentary on article by Prof Willi Kunz in East Berlin EINHEIT, Vol 36, No 11, Nov 81, signed to press 14 Oct 81, pp 1132-1138]

[Text] The management functionaries of the large industrial combines in the GDR are evidently getting increasingly into the SED's line of fire because the economic results of many of the socialist corporations are lagging behind the party's demands. In its most recent edition (No 11, 1981), the theoretical party journal EINHEIT emphatically reminded the industrial functionaries of their personal responsibility for the performance development of their enterprises. A manager was mainly to be judged by how he led his enterprise to high achievements. The cost/benefit ratio remained a cardinal issue, crucial to evaluating skilled and less skilled management. The party journal admonished the managers especially to apply "much tougher yardsticks" to their activity in the future and conduct international standard comparisons "without compromise."

### **Struggle for Exploitation of New Reserves to Be Waged Politically**

[Summary of article by Rolf Jobst, social scientist, secretary for economic policy, SED Gera Bezirk Management; pp 1139-1145]

[Text] Proceeding from the contribution by the working people in Gera Bezirk to the fine balance-sheet for the 32nd anniversary of the GDR, it is being shown how bezirk management and its secretariat ensure resolute political leadership in their economic processes and direct the ideological work at forming clear militant positions. Which economic and ideological questions are they dealing with, and which methods are they using to exploit new reserves in rendering effective all qualitative growth factors and overcoming unjustified performance differences?

### **Dialectic--History--Humanism: On 150th Anniversary of Hegel's Death**

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Manfred Buhr, director, Central Institute for Philosophy, GDR Academy of Sciences; member of the academy; and Todor Ilyich Oyberman, corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences and GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 1146-1153]

[Text] On the occasion of his 150th death anniversary, tribute is paid to Hegel's work and scientific achievement. His philosophy marks the culmination and conclusion of the intellectual movement that initiated and helped enforce the transition from feudalism to capitalism. That explains both the greatness and limits of his thought. Why did Hegel's philosophy become one of the theoretical sources for Marxism-Leninism? Why could the dialectic become fruitful only as a materialistic dialectic and the world-outlook of the workers class? Hegel's revolutionary legacy is preserved and extended by Marxism-Leninism.

### **'...An Inexhaustible Field for the Artistic Search'--On Aspects of Contemporary Soviet Literature**

[Summary of article by Dr Regina Hager, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Culture and Art Studies, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 1154-1161]

[Text] With every phase in the development of socialist society the ideas of the nature of the socialist way of life have deepened. Soviet contemporary literature has an active share in the forming of new contents and forms in human fellowship. By reference to some works by Granin, Rasputin, Abramov and others it is being shown how the Soviet authors, with party-mindedness and great artistic skill, take part in the identification process pertaining to important matters of social development.

ROLE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES IN RENEWAL STUDIED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 Oct 81 p 8

[Article by Zsigmond Pal Pach: "Socialist Renewal and the Social Sciences"]

[Text] The decisive historical process that began more than 36 years ago, with our country's liberation, ran into a crisis a quarter century ago. The path of overcoming this deep sociopolitical, as well as conscious and moral, crisis, the summarization of a quarter century of experience of socialist renewal in Hungary calls for a historical review.

We are speaking about history, the history of our present era. We must apply the principles of historical research with strict theoretical and methodological precision and at the same time consider the characteristic conditions and opportunities of studying the era's historical phenomena.

The framework of researching the present era's history--and researching it in a small country--is obviously set by the way domestic events are imbedded in the international processes. Just as international factors played an important role in the creation of the crisis of the 1950's and in its sinking to a counter-revolution, there is no doubt that all the events in Hungary during the last quarter century can hardly be interpreted without considering the changes in the international power relationships, the development of detente, the solidification of the Hungarian-Soviet political and economic links, the favorable cycle of the world's economic growth during the 1960's, then its becoming increasingly difficult since the 1970's, with the first oil price explosion. But it is also obvious that Marxist historical analysis, when it concerns the present domestic factors, must start also from the definitive character of socioeconomic conditions and from the effect these exert on public awareness and social consciousness. This is what the Temporary Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party did practically as early as the day after the events, when in the first chapter of its memorable December 1956 resolution it explained the basic reasons of the counterrevolution. This is also the way we must pose the question: Why and how was Hungary able to turn the international conditions,

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Crisis and Renewal. Economy, society and politics in Hungary. Based on the opening presentation of a scientific session entitled "The MSZMP's 25 Years."

which for a while were more favorable, to its own advantage; why and how was it able not only to overcome the reality but also to lift itself from it with fresh momentum for growth--as a country of the socialist community with a hallmark of political, economic and cultural stability and one also characterized by the demand and effort of flexibly adjusting itself to the changes in domestic and foreign circumstances?

#### Directive Economic Policy

Posing this question necessitates first examining the basic problem area of economic growth and economic policy. The December 1956 resolution that specified the development of such a new economic policy, "with the involvement of the best economic experts" that must be built on "our given economic conditions and characteristics," as one of the most important tasks for the party, can also be considered the starting point here. "It must far-reaching help the individual initiative and professional knowledge succeed. Financial incentives must be used in accordance with the national economy's interests...to promote technical development, to improve quality, to decrease costs, to increase the productivity of work. Planning...must turn its attention primarily to determine the national economy's most important ratios, and the rate of growth.... The main question of the entire economic policy is that gradual improvement of the standard of living of the workers must be the prime viewpoint in distributing the national income and in preparing our economic investment plans."

Knowing the present era in historical depth is not possible without revealing how the economic policy of the last 25 years was able to implement this resolution, which is valid and directive even to this day--of course, not independently of the complex system of political conditions as a whole--how it was able to proceed, hindered by what opposing factors and overcoming which ones; how it grasped one of the basic problems of rising above the crisis when, based on the appropriate growth of the national income, it achieved a 4 to 5 percent annual rate of increase in real wages in this unique period in our history and which--considering the entire quarter century--approximately doubled the per capita real wages of the workers and employees; and how the economy's socialist development led to the new qualitative requirements that are particularly timely, when preservation of the attained, appreciable standard of living also calls for new and great efforts.

#### The Science of Society's Development

From studying society's development we can obtain information for our picture of reality that cannot be substituted. Of course, the fact that during the last 25 years we witnessed among other things the birth of a new branch of science--or, more precisely, the rebirth of a branch of science--the development of Marxist sociology, is not the only reason for this. Primarily that recognition has become prevalent in our country--which, by the way, also made the rebuilding of sociology urgent--that even the best economic policy and economic directive system would be unable to create automatically an assurance for solving the social problems or by itself create the basis for planning the social processes and for the development of life style in the socialist direction.

Therefore in order to appreciate the growth path specified in the economic area by the December 1956 resolution, it is also necessary to study thoroughly the social implications, which have many ties to the economy but are in some ways independent of it and also have their own flexibility. If the scientific analysis--of our economic situation as well as our social relationships--finds a number of contradictions, problems and difficulties, undoubtedly after an objective evaluation of the data and facts it will conclude that the outstanding economic growth of the last quarter century in our country was combined with great social transformation and with changes in the life styles. Our socio-economic structure finally succeeded in this period to cast off the characteristics of being undeveloped. This stage shaped the industrialized and urbanizing society in Hungary. This stage terminated the traditional backwardness and poverty of the Hungarian village--by the socialist reorganization and large-scale industry-type development of agriculture and through the expedient use of opportunities in the farms producing retail goods.

#### Accepting the Break

Undoubtedly the depth of the crisis of the 1950's required a radical confrontation of the problems--based on the continuity of building socialism, while acknowledging and maintaining the basic achievements--and in many respects a confrontation of a new start. In this sense the crisis and the solution form a dialectic unit. But we would be interpreting the historical processes too mechanically and would be underestimating the role of politics and the significance of applying and implementing politics if we simply considered the achievements of a quarter century solely or overwhelmingly as the reaction to the deep crisis. The success of overcoming the crisis, the success of the last 25 years, is in the essence of these 25 years, the era of the birth, development and implementation of a new politics. This politics considered the many aspects of the factors of the crisis and faced them in a determined manner; it was not, and is not, limited to repairing problems but--by reviewing the entire area of problems of guiding society--implemented, and implements, the new concept, the renewed concept of building socialism in the long range and everyday practice of the country's life.

One of the most serious components of the crisis a quarter century ago was the conscious and moral aspect of discrediting the principle of socialism in the eyes of broad strata of the people--just as this also constituted the most serious sin and a framework of the mistakes of the old party leadership. It is much more difficult to reinstate the appreciation of principles and values than to earn them in the first place. It is much more complicated and trying to regain the confidence of the people than to waste it. To convince the masses that what they became disillusioned in was not the essence of socialism but a severely distorted form of it, is a practice actually foreign to the principles of socialism; it was possible to convince the masses of this only by consistent defense of the basic achievements of socialism, while at the same time renouncing the earlier methods and accepting the discontinuity with them, and by comprehensive renewal of the practice of building socialism extending over all areas of life. That this was successful constitutes the synopsis of 25 years of the MSZMP's work.

## About Generations for Generations

The processes of rising above the crisis and socialist renewal also had manifold and enriching effects on the domestic historiography. In the research and writing of the history of the era beginning with the liberation, the second half of the 1960's and the beginning of the 1970's led to the birth of new and significant achievements. The results manifested themselves not only in the success of multifaceted elaboration on the 1945-1948 period but also in the fact that the research projects expanded to cover the history of the understandably much more complicated socialist period. The comprehensive review of the development of our latest historiography prepared for the occasion of the 30th anniversary of liberation reported these results.

But this upswing did not prove lasting, and a unique contradiction has developed in recent years. The public's interest--primarily the interest of youth--recently manifested itself again and again, with increasing urgency. New generations grew up for whom the recent past is just as much history as 1945 or 1919, and these new generations want to learn more and more about the struggles of the generations preceding them--about the birth of those historical events that they received in a finished form and about the development of those historical problems with which they are also struggling, which they themselves must also face. In these very same years when the interest so increased toward the history of the recent past, the labor force of historiography was not able to handle the new tasks. Perhaps it even backed off somewhat: it is publishing less in this area than a few years ago. Compared to earlier periods of history, it is providing education with less assistance to tie teaching the history of the era most closely to our credible and rich present.

How can this contradiction be explained? Do objective reasons contribute to this, or do historians feel that they are unable to satisfy the interest in this topic at a desired level? Do the difficulties of growth have an influence on this? Is it the interpretation of historiography's political sensitivity, the bureaucracy of the archives, the fear to create or the comfort of the lukewarm water of the usual topics? Or all these together?

Evaluation of the weights and relationships of these reasons cannot be our task. But we must not close our eyes to this: a situation is developing where novelists and film producers provide answers to questions posed to historians, well or not so well, but with their own methods and by the rules of their own branches of the arts, and of course not by the professional and methodological principles of historical science. This is beginning to produce a situation where the answers or attempts at answers through multifaceted analysis by historians, based on source research, pale beside the flashy detailed episodes of even some important and interesting memoirs and beside the answers and attempts at answers of even the most demanding artistic representations, which at times are impulsive, impressionistic, overly moralistic, or restricted to our domestic scene.

### **Exchange of Experience on the National Scale**

Our historiography of the present era must move from this contradictory situation and must be ready and willing to accept its share of perhaps the broadest and most important area of shaping social awareness: the transfer of historical experience, the exchange of experience with youth on the national scale--preparing those generations that will have to stand their ground in the front lines against the problems of the next quarter century.

We have already passed the naive illusions. We know--history has taught us--that the growth of socialism, its struggle for existence, for implementation and for new opportunities triumphs over difficult obstacles and quagmire. We know--we lived and are living through it--that in some cases the path of socialism also cannot avoid crises, and some of these repeatedly occurred during the last decades in some socialist countries. The actualities of the Hungarian crisis a quarter century ago and of the 25-year Hungarian renewal are especially obvious if we consider the crisis in Poland a quarter century ago, the directions and efforts that led from it, its recurrences and its present tragic and threatening gulf. Marxist-Leninist social science must study these critical situations, research and analyze the ways of renewal--not only in the interest of revealing the historical facts true to reality and not only in the interest of fulfilling its obligations and responsibility to the nation, but also in the interest of theoretical generalization of what has been learned from the historical processes. Thus, the historical review of the experiences of a quarter century in Hungary can also be of international interest from the viewpoints of theory and of enriching Marxism--as the contribution of one of the countries of the socialist alliance.

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AUGUST AGREEMENTS RECOGNIZED AS RESPONSIBILITY TO THE NATION

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by Andrzej Leszczynski: "August Agreements. Responsibility to the Nation"]

[Text] Not too orderly, written down in the course of difficult negotiations for every sentence and every word and without particular concern for legal order and stylistic accuracy. However, the social agreements, which were entered into at the turn of August-September of 1980 in a hot atmosphere made tense by strikes, had nevertheless, one primary value despite these or other structural imperfections. Namely, they expressed the generally felt hopes, expectations and needs which also pervaded the Party ranks. This was most important.

These agreements carried the prognosis of a solution to the real, complex problems which had been mounting for years; the prospect of freeing society from a stiff corset which restricts human initiative and enterprise, which deforms the principles of socialist justice and limits the qualities of a socialist, planned economy.

When on 30 August 1980, the Party's Central Committee approved the results of talks in Gdansk and Szczecin, then this was a concordant decision which included the feelings of society and of wide circles of Party masses. From then on, social agreements became an integral part of the Party program of socialist renewal and of the return to socialist values.

In the Spirit of the Agreement

The accords contained in the agreements, which pertain to consulting with society on crucial national issues, were treated by the Party as a necessity for the reconstruction and development of democratic structures, institutions and practices.

This was expressed by the recognition of independent and autonomous union organizations and evidenced by the initiated process of restoring the proper rank

and meaning in the life of the country to representative organs--the Sejm, national councils, legal and territorial self-governing units as well as the practice of consulting or negotiating new social and economic solutions.

The democratic infrastructure added on a new law, of better service to the freedom of speech, which pertains to the control of publications and pageants [events] and which was prepared with broad, social participation. The range of information and contents, indispensable for strengthening the awareness and consciousness of society, expanded incomparably during the post-August period in newspaper columns, on the radio and on television; the range and degree of criticism in publications decidedly increased.

In the Party, we interpreted from the social agreements, the need for a new, more complete outlook on the criteria and guarantees of social justice; creating of equal opportunities for a start on life as well as eliminating any and all signs of drawing unjustified advantages whether by virtue of the functions fulfilled or by way of speculation.

Within this context, undertakings should also be assigned a place, whose aim is to define the social minimum; to establish, the recognized by society, proportions of income, principles and criteria of fair compensation for cost of living increases; to protect the economically weakest families--retirees, pensioners and large families.

All these problems, which result directly from the August agreements, found themselves at the center of attention of the government, the ministries and the Sejm. They were discussed, consulted upon and discussed with trade unions and with social organizations. They became the subject of widespread social debate.

From the spirit of social agreements, undertakings grew out with the aim of overcoming the difficult crisis in which our country found itself as a result of the voluntaristic, economic policy practiced in the 1970's which ignored realities. Immediate solutions taken up by the National Anti-Crisis Staff [OSA] served this purpose [the undertakings] as well, as did also and perhaps, above all, the economic reform planned on a large scale.

This is an undertaking of historical significance for Poland--a pioneer on socialist soil which, in practice, is without precedence in the world. The economic reform initiated by the Party creates a chance for freeing the economy from the confining bonds of centralism of bureaucratic strata and for the creation of conditions in which the qualities of the socialist means of management could manifest themselves more fully.

Within this context, social agreements became a premise for strengthening the socialist, structural foundation of the State; for the implementation, in practice, of the humanistic values of socialism. That is how the Party and with it, wide ranges of society understood the conveyed information which flowed from the agreements and at the same time, numerous masses expected that it would be possible to implement these goals in the ranks of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity.

It should also have been expected that with all the ideological and world outlook divergencies and differences in attitudes, the union leaders would lead their membership masses and their sympathizers in just this direction; in accordance with primary national interests and the Polish reasons of State; with a sense of responsibility and understanding of the complex conditions in which the country found itself. All this should have been expected.

#### Motives and Intentions

However, already the first test of civic maturity, which was the discussion surrounding shortening working time, revealed alarming tendencies among "Solidarity" leaders. By insisting on the immediate introduction, in a matter of 3 months, of free Saturdays, in defiance of obvious needs and economic propriety, they demonstrated that they place their ambitions of carrying out their own solutions above the real interests of society. In a similar manner, they had earlier forced through excessive wage increases, which in the country's apparent economic situation augmented the disorganization of the market.

In this way, by exposing certain points of the agreement, they in practice, ruled out the possibility of fulfilling other, primary points of vital significance for society. If, in the first phase, this uncompromising attitude which ignored realities could as yet be explained by mistrust inherited from the past towards actions of the authorities, then the later development of events exposed completely and openly, the true motives and intentions of extremist "Solidarity" leaders.

The July campaign in regard to the structure of workers' self-governments undertaken by "Solidarity" practically on the eve of the Party's Ninth Extraordinary Congress, revealed tendencies of dispersing national assets, of weakening the integral functions of the State and the actual taking over of authority in enterprises by union elements. These tendencies developed in dictatorial proposals concerning the role and place of a managing director or the exclusivity of control conducted by the union over the national economy.

Because of the extremist "Solidarity" activists, the crisis agitated area of economy became an auction area and a political battlefield, which affected in an unequivocally negative manner, the stabilizing process of the economy and the preparations of economic reform. This is documented by subsequent tensions, intentionally caused disputes and the use of obstacles in the course of negotiations. Let us make things perfectly clear: all this activity was, in fact, aimed at the August social agreements.

This year's autumn brought an attack on authority and directly on the Party. Indications of this may be written on the walls of houses, factories and mines and in illegal tabs and leaflets. They are expressed in resolutions on "solidarity" which demand the ousting of the Party from places of employment, the creation of armed units and the appointing of a provisional government.

By rejecting the idea of national conciliation and choosing the course of confrontation, the leaders of NSZZ "Solidarity" did, in fact, break the August

social agreements and strayed from their spirit and code. It is worth realizing, however, that the people's authority did not transact social agreements with the group of extremist trade union activists but with society, in accordance with its feelings, expectations and needs.

In this spirit, then, it [the people's authority] will implement them [the social agreements] under all kinds of conditions, even under state of war conditions, which had to be declared in order to save the country from disaster. For authority and for the Party, the social agreements never were and are not a tactical subterfuge but a primary, strategic imperative and responsibility to the nation.

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**POZNAN VOIVODSHIP PARTY PLENUM ACTIVITIES REPORTED**

**Report of Plenum Deliberations**

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 26 Oct 81 pp 1, 3

[Text] [GAZETA POZNANSKA reportage] "The fatherland needs the joint effort of the entire nation." Under such a slogan the delegates to the Voivodship Reporting-Electoral Conference in Poznan deliberated this past Saturday. They met again in a second session to determine the main directions for activity of the Poznan party organization for 1981-1983, basing their work on the resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress and on the proposals of the Fourth KC [Central Committee] Plenum. The draft of the PZPR socioeconomic program for the Poznan voivodship had been prepared earlier by the Program Commission appointed at the party KW [Voivodship Committee] Plenum. It was based on the recommendations and demands voiced in the course of discussion preceding the Ninth Extraordinary Congress. It likewise made use of proposals presented by the Voivodship Congressional Team.

The deliberations, which took place in the Boguslawski Hall of the Poznan Palace of Culture, began with the singing of the national anthem. First Secretary of the PZPR Poznan KW, Edward Skrzypezak opened the meetings, welcoming the following officials who were in attendance at the conference: PZPR KC Politburo member, KC secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski and vice minister of Internal Affairs, Stanislaw Zaczkowski.

Leadership of the deliberations was assumed by the members of the Conference Presidium appointed during the first part of the sessions: Mieczyslaw Kurzawski, Adam Krywoblocki and Marek Minski. After establishing the order of the deliberations and appointing Conference working commissions (a mandate commission and a proposals and resolutions commission), KW first secretary Edward Skrzypezak delivered an address in the name of the KW Executive Board (the text of which is published on p 3 of this issue).

Next, the chairman of the Voivodship Party Control Commission [WKKP], Henryk Stach made a report on the subject of the settling of accounts undertaken with regard to those party members who have violated statutory and legal norms.

Comrade Henryk Stach stated: "Prior to the Conference we submitted a report to our comrade delegates summarizing the 4-month activity of the WKKP, as well as a register of those persons who have been punished for violating statutory and legal

norms. Bulletin no 32 of the PZPR KW, presenting the cases of some persons in great detail, likewise represents an integral part of this report. These materials present a picture of the scope of WKKP work and the decisions undertaken by the WKKP. Delegates interested in familiarizing themselves with the details of the work carried out by us are invited to come to the WKKP, where they will receive further information.

In his address, H[enryk] Stach assured delegates that in the Poznan voivodship, the process of purging the party of those who have undermined its good name will be carried consistently to its limit. All persons who have come into conflict with the law will bear the consequences issuing from statutory and legal norms. Informal groups, the actions of which have brought socialism and the party so much grief in the past, have been dispersed. The ultimate liquidation of informal structures is one of the fundamental guarantees of authentic renewal.

Through the public settling of accounts for wrongdoing and the removal from PZPR ranks of those persons who placed their personal interests above society's interests, and by their behavior displayed attitudes that were nothing less than bourgeois, the party has taken on the work of moral regeneration. All members of the PZPR are responsible for creating its image. At the same time, the speaker pointed out that we must defend party members successfully against attacks from political opponents, against libel and slander.

The process of settling accounts in the Poznan party organization is nearing its end. Of the more important cases still underway are the explanatory proceedings regarding some comrades from the MO [Citizens' Militia] Voivodship Command, the PGR [State Farm] Associations and the former party directorship in Gniezno. As a rule of operation it was adopted that before a decision was made concerning punishment, adequate proof of guilt should be established.

"At today's conference," said H[enryk] Stach, "we wish to present before the delegates, for their final decision, those cases which have not been resolved, and which require party members and the social opinion of our voivodship to be resolved. In conjunction with this, the WKKP recommends to the Conference that the following be ousted from the PZPR: 1. the former PZPR KW first secretary Jerzy Zasada who, by his actions, caused irreparable damage to the Poznan party organization and completely lost its trust in him; he tarnished the name communist, which he took so lightly; 2. the former KW secretary Bogdan Waligorski, for losing the confidence of party members because of his use of his service position to obtain personal benefits which did not belong to him: his actions were all the more reprehensible in that he exercised the function of chairman of the ORMO [Volunteer Reserve of the Citizens' Militia] Social Council and chairman of the Voivodship Social Control Committee [WKKS]; 3. the former KW secretary Jozef Scibisz for using his position to obtain material benefits that were not his due and for unceasingly refusing to make explanation to the WKKP; in spite of many proposals made to this effect since 5 December 1980, he has not undertaken to do this.

"The guilt of the aforementioned is documented with the Central and the Voivodship Party Control Commission. Investigative officials will conduct explanatory proceedings against them."

At the beginning of the discussion, Prof Dr Jozef Radzicki, who had been invited to the conference, took the floor in order to present the problems linked with question of the restitution of territorial self-government. The speaker asserted that the entire local economy should be subordinated to two organs, on the one hand, the territorial self-government, and on the other, the state administration. The territorial self-government is defined as the working together of citizens for the entire local economy (communal affairs, craftsmanship, light industry, culture, trade, environmental protection and the like). The sociopolitical and economic benefits under such conditions would be tremendous: it would mean activating people on issues which are most vital to them, mutual control (of the administration by the self-government and the self-government by the administration) and preventing the flight of people from the village and small towns.

Next, the provincial governor of Poznan, Romuald Zysnarski presented information concerning the implementation of recommendations made during the course of the precongressional campaign and the first part of the Conference in the name of the state administration. There were several hundred of these. The most universal one concerned housing construction. Approximately 80,000 people in the voivodship are waiting for housing, of which 27,000 are newly married couples. It does not look like things will be significantly improved in this area. As in other regions, we have not fulfilled the five-year plan for housing construction. A second housing factory for us has been canceled. This year alone, we were short 488 dwellings for fulfillment of the plan. Unfortunately, despite WRN [Voivodship People's Council] and the governor's intervention, housing construction has again been cut off.

Communal construction will be restored, its first effects to be felt by the end of 1983. A number of office spaces are being converted into housing accommodations.

We would like to designate buildings being erected as office buildings, the construction of which has been halted, such as the Agromet-Project skyscraper on Staroleka street, Wiepofama on Dabrowski street and the Furniture Association on Grunwald street for health service needs. The sum of 190 million zlotys is needed to complete these projects.

New locations have been assigned for sector gardens. The educational situation must be improved; investment delays in this field are now approaching 2 to 3 years. Many buildings are under construction; it is important that these buildings be completed despite the lack of materials. We envisage local reserves for schools and preschools in the recovery of buildings lost by education.

The demand for changing the legal status of the city Poznan is expressed everywhere. Attempts are being made to gain separate status for the city, with the restoration of the City Section People's Councils [DRN].

The ROW issue, i.e., the issue of brown coal lodes in the Puszczykowo-Czempiń-Gostyn region, is a subject on which scientists have expressed themselves. Their expert appraisals, together with our recommendation that these lodes should not be mined, have been forwarded to the premier.

Next the plenary discussion began.

During the course of deliberations, Edward Skrzypczak, first secretary of the KW, made a reference to the resolution of the NSZZ [Independent Self-governing Trade Union] Solidarity KK [National Commission] concerning a planned warning strike on 28 October 1981, stating that the conference should take a position with regard to the strike.

Comrade Karol Paczusko from Szamotuly, requesting the floor on this issue, stated that he was disturbed by the NSZZ Solidarity KK resolution. He proposed that the conference pass a resolution, the keynote of which would be an appeal directed to party members not to strike on 28 October. This is because the announced strike is of a political nature. The time has thus come for PZPR members to say "no."

At the end of the discussion, PZPR KC Politburo member, KC secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski took the floor. (The text of his address is published on p 3).

Following the discussion, the Commission on Proposals and Resolutions submitted corrections and additions to the drafts of the socioeconomic program and of intraparty work. Following an exchange of remarks by the delegates and the insertion of corrections and additions, both documents were passed. We note that we published the drafts in GAZETA POZNANSKA.

The next documents passed by the Voivodship Conference were: a resolution concerning the 100th anniversary of the workers' movement in Wielkopolska; a declaration supporting the act of constructing a monument to the "Poznan" Army; a position paper on the issue of the NSZZ Solidarity KK resolution concerning a work stoppage on 28 October 1981; a resolution concerning the dismissal from the PZPR of former members of the party and administrative directorship of the voivodship; a resolution concerning territorial self-government and a resolution concerning the regulation of meat and processed meat products.

In the course of a stormy discussion on the issue of the settling of accounts and the adoption of a resolution by the conference concerning the dismissal from the party of those who violated statutory and legal norms, special emphasis was placed on the moral losses borne by the party as a result of the reprehensible actions of former high-ranking officials.

During the discussion on this subject it was demanded that the list of persons from the former party and administrative leadership of the voivodship be expanded to include the following: former KW secretary Jozef Switaj, former KW secretary Czeslaw Galgan and former Poznan provincial governor Stanislaw Cozas. The motion on this matter was passed and the conference proposed that the following be dismissed from the party: Jerzy Zasada, Bogdan Waligorski, Jozef Scibisz, Jozef Switaj, Czeslaw Galgan and Stanislaw Cozas.

Taking the floor at the end of the deliberations, KW first secretary Edward Skrzypczak thanked delegates for their remarks and the considerations introduced into the operating program of the voivodship party echelon. He emphasized the need for taking consistent action to lead the country out of the economic and political crisis.

"We must demand that our party members unequivocally define their political position in support of the line of socialist renewal not only in words but primarily through honest, reliable work. The program adopted at the conference designates the tasks for anyone who is following the path of his country's interests and of leading Poland out of the difficulties which plague her.

"The leadership of the party voivodship organization exercises authority in Your name and upon Your recommendation," stated the PZPR KW secretary in conclusion. "Keep watch over us unceasingly to make sure that we do this in accordance with the wishes and feelings of all party members in our voivodship. If you discover that we are not doing suitable work, you have the legal right to withdraw your support and recommendation. Our primary and only goal should be to serve society with its full acceptance..."

The conference closed with the singing of the Internationale.

Address by Kazimierz Barcikowski

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 26 Oct 81 p 3

[Text] I consider my participation in your conference to be another meeting with Wielkopolska, limited today to the Poznan voivodship. But Poznan was and still is the capital of the entire region. In conjunction with this, two assertions suggest themselves: the first is the well-known solidarity and honesty of Poznan workers and farmers manifested in the good results of their labor both in industry and agriculture. Such solidarity is very lacking today in Polish daily life. This makes your honesty and foresight all the more valuable. The second assertion is the sober party approach of this conference to work and to programming this work in accordance with current conditions and social needs. It is in this approach that the leadership role of the party, the task of which is to define and create values serving the satisfaction of social needs, is expressed. With such an approach to these questions, your party organization has the right to count on social support.

Many people today make numerous demands, but too many maintain positions of negation and a wait-and-see policy without feeling a personal need to become involved in working to overcome the current difficulties. Through the resolutions made at today's conference and the expression here of the will that they be implemented, your party organization offers proof that it knows what is needed and how to go about the work of seeing that society's expectations of improvement become a reality.

There is much said today in Poland about the crisis; indeed, it is a fact, but the mere assertion that it exists leads to nothing. Often we ourselves make the crisis deeper by reconciling ourselves, as it were, to a passive persistence in helplessness. It is dangerous, this mood overcomes people, paralyzing them. It must be repelled. We must look for ways out of the crisis.

Are there such roads and possibilities? I am most deeply convinced that there are. For the national wealth of Poland has not been reduced--there is something on which and with which to work; the Polish soil has not become less abundant

In raw materials, neither in mines nor by becoming less fertile. The number of people capable of work, young, educated people, has not been reduced.

Of course we have many problems--in our balance of payments, in goods turnover--we are not able to buy everything we need today abroad. But improvement itself depends upon our will, our determination to act to improve the situation. Thus, we must overcome the political crisis which is trammeling the strength of our people and paralyzing activity.

It is well-known that the crisis was engendered by the justifiable criticism of the mistakes of the past. The party has executed its stern appraisal of these blunders and has made recommendations for the future to ensure that these mistakes are not repeated.

However, this wave of criticism has given rise to forces which stand in a position of the negation of everything, which have adopted the direction of the destruction of life and its abandonment to anarchy, which consciously shirk their joint responsibility for the state and take their nourishment from the mounting tensions to make attacks on the socialist system. This is why these forces have become dangerous for peace and for our security. The greatest threat issues from their influence on the member masses of [NSZZ] Solidarity, made up of working people, people from the working class. We may say that these forces are the authors of a dangerous discovery, that through strikes, a decline in production, market dysfunction and the abandonment of public life to anarchy we can aim to change the political situation in the country. And it is not important for these forces whether such a change would be in accordance with the good of working people. Because it is not social interest, but the implementation of their own goals through the eruption of social dissatisfaction that is their real goal.

Another wave of strikes is now flooding the country. They are erupting against the background of local conflicts, but they bear the threat of being transformed into a general social conflict. A general warning strike has been announced. Zyrardow has been on strike for many days. As you know, this is light industry working to supply the market. A trifling matter--the refusal to grant an employee a vacation to do trade-union work--in light of an insufficient number of members from the plant organization--became the cause of a strike of 31,000 employees of the Zielona Gora voivodship enterprises. In the Tarnobrzeg voivodship, from which I just returned, stands Stalowa Wola, a plant equal in production and export volume to the Cegielski metal industry plants. Neither the Siarkopol plant nor other plants are in operation.

The most peculiar thing about all of this is that, judging from my conversations with strikers, they themselves do not know what they are striking about. Moreover, something astounding came out in my conversations with those comrades: they strike in a cheerful mood, in picnic style. Then why are they striking? Simply because that was the order; the order given by leaders full of ambition, who compel obedience to their decisions likewise through the use of blackmail and threats.

Must it be so? Must work forces be deprived of their own will in the name of the ambition of these people?

Of course it cannot be so and does not have to be so; work plants do not have to be and will not be the grounds for the operation of methods which have nothing in common either with the principles of democracy or law and order. That is why it is important for people themselves to understand, so that they may be brought back to their senses. Our task is to assist in bringing about this understanding as quickly as possible in order to protect the country from still greater losses and moral harm.

A favorite trick of [NSZZ] Solidarity propagandists is unceasingly to accuse the government of incompetence. The strike announced for Wednesday is also to be a protest against government incompetence. Thus it is worthwhile to ask: can a strike increase government "competence"? This is sheer perfidy: last year there was not one instance in which some sort of constructive government action was not blocked or protested.

The party is accused of lacking a program. This is obviously a lie. Such a program was prepared at the Ninth Party Congress and then approved by the Sejm of the PRL [Polish People's Republic]. But for this program to be implemented, at least a minimum of understanding and support is necessary. In matters for discussion we can and must sit down together at a table, reconciling our positions in order to implement them together later. Meanwhile the game of the leaders of [NSZZ] Solidarity consists of retrenching any proposals for cooperation with subsequent conditions and demands. These amount to demands of a political nature, to changes in the political orientation of Poland and its alliances and defense links. Worthy of reflection is the silence in [NSZZ] Solidarity propaganda concerning the crimes of Hitlerian fascism perpetrated against the Polish people, while at the same time they create an uproar over and expose specific instances of historical resentment for the purpose of arousing anti-Soviet sentiments. The truth is that subsidies flow into the [NSZZ] Solidarity account from the anti-communist central headquarters, subsidies so willingly received and accepted. And everybody knows that nobody gives anybody money for nothing--these contributions must be repaid, repaid in terms of the appropriate political stance--the weakening of the forces of socialism and anti-Sovietism.

Thus it is time to pose the question: Where can this lead us as a state, as a people? Is there anyone among honest people who wants to see Poland become the object of the play of international forces. Such was the case in the past. And so it is time that we drew the appropriate conclusions from our past lessons in order to stand on a foundation of realities.

Much is now being said about the problem of responsibility. But there are various kinds of responsibility. There is the responsibility for what went on until August 1980. Here the party has assumed responsibility and is rendering its account to the people until today for this reason. But there is likewise the responsibility for what has happened after August, for everything that [NSZZ] Solidarity has done to deepen the crisis and what it has not done to overcome it.

We must see and evaluate the Fourth Plenum of the KC in light of this situation. At the plenum, the party once again confirmed its political openness to cooperate with all of the forces standing on the foundation of socialism. In accordance with this, the expansion of the formula of the National Unity Front [FJN] is currently being discussed, as is the broadening of its role in the

sociopolitical life of the country. Changes have been announced in the government in the direction of a coalition of social forces standing on the foundation of socialism. Premier Jaruzelski has likewise advanced a proposal for the creation of a governmental advisory-consultative council composed of specialists from various spheres and various orientations. In a word, we would like to speak and find understanding with all, but on the basis of their recognition of socialism.

There is also another issue, strongly emphasized in a resolution of the Fourth Plenum: it is the need for the effective counteraction of all claims and undertakings of the enemies of socialism, and of their aspirations to stand above the law. Therefore, the pertinent actions of state services will aim at enforcing the law and public order. We are not renouncing any methods stipulated in the Constitution for securing socialist legal order.

As the party we are in favor of self-government, broadly conceived. We are determined to follow this road. Of course, there may be quarrels and discussions over this. This is normal, since we are rejecting the principle of "the sole dominion."

We entered the Ninth Congress with a program of changes, and we uphold this program in all its totality. We do not intend to regress. But we must know that /the more quickly the party rebuilds its forces, the more firmly will we travel the road of reform [in boldface]. For this reason, the most important issue today is the increase in confidence of party forces. This will mean the increased capability of its operation. The power of the party will not grow, however, in only one place, in its central elements; this power must be formed in all organizations and elements, by all PZPR members. The truth is that /there is no socialist renewal without our party [in boldface]. Nowhere in the world has socialism been built, nowhere in the world has socialism been defended where there was not the Marxist-Leninist party.

In Poland the future belongs to socialism, to the guiding forces of socialism, the PZPR. Whoever does not realize this, or does not wish to realize this is making a big, inexcusable mistake.

#### Address by Edward Skrzypczak

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 26 Oct 81 p 3

[Text] The current dramatic situation of our country was discussed during the deliberations of the Fourth KC Plenum. The course of this discussion and the resolution adopted, as well as the appeal of this plenum to the people justify the change in the position of the Central Committee first secretary. The preparation period for the Ninth Congress instilled new life into the party and aroused great hopes and expectations. The unusually dramatic electoral campaign in the party from the ODP [District Party Organizations] to the KC as well as the program documents resolved at the Congress and prepared by the entire party, the statute and the political decisions made at the Congress to settle accounts have considerably increased the authority of the PZPR. Unfortunately, during the 3-month period following the Congress, the planned destructive activity of the political opponents of our socialist system and the inconsistent implementation of

resolutions by those leading party activity and the government, by the Politburo have meant that the political results of the Ninth Congress have not added up in accordance with the expectations of party members and the working class.

The further decline of the economy is taking place along with the associated inflationary phenomena and the worsening of supply for the city populations, primarily food supply, and especially meat supply. The unsuccessful efforts of the government and the administration, paralyzed by the various destructive activities of political opponents, in accordance with the tactic, "the worse things are for them the better" have caused the practical breakdown of the system of regulation, particularly of meat. The sudden decline in the production of industrial articles and in coal production (in addition to the consequences of the lack of fodder) blocks the procurement of livestock for slaughter from farmers.

Provision difficulties lead to the clear provocation, radicalization and even to the abandonment to anarchy of the moods of the population, who are cynically used by our political opponents.

These difficulties are made worse by the lack of an emphatic change in the mechanism of exercising administrative authority, i.e., the continued preference of the centralized-directive-type system and the call issuing from this by particular voivodships and regions to meet the needs of market supply, e.g., with food--from the central storehouse.

The enormous political pressure of the situation and the mass of opponent propaganda, which we have not yet been able to counteract effectively, in many cases are causing the decline of activism and sometimes even the disintegration of party organizations.

A resolution of the Fourth Plenum, upholding the line of understanding from the Ninth Congress, defines with whom and to what limits such understanding is realistic. The foremost and sole task of party members and all people of good will has been recognized to be to battle the crisis--"who does not wish to do this in practice is an enemy of the people." Hence the appeal of the Fourth Plenum for Saturday work (especially in the mines) and for the necessity of temporarily suspending the strikes. Only people of ill will, avowed opponents of the real interests of the working class will interpret this as an "attempt" on the inalienable right of labor.

The consistent implementation of the Resolution of the Fourth Plenum by central authorities (which we are all crying for so much) is impossible without its active implementation in practice by all party members. The time for discussion has passed; the time for actions and, at the same time, resolute attitudes has arrived.

The traditions of good work, order and the responsibility of working people and of all social forces in our voivodship prove that our economic situation is relatively somewhat better than in other voivodships. Thus, until now, the political atmosphere has likewise been more peaceful in the Poznan voivodship. Enormously contributing to this is the awareness and responsibility, as well as the involvement of 100,000 party members and thousands of activists, including you delegates.

Poznan industry (both in the city and in the voivodship) is afflicted with the same calamities as those affecting industry throughout the entire country: raw materials problems and energy problems, the breakdown in cooperation, shortages in import, unutilized production capacities and irrational employment. Production value is 10 to 20 percent lower than in 1980. In spite of the enormous nuisance of purchasing food and other necessities, Poznan work forces (in Poznan and other cities of the voivodship) are mindful of their obligations to their fatherland and have not struck for a half-year. Diligence, involvement and sacrifice among workers in all three sectors as well as the favorable weather have brought good yields of grain and field crops. The patriotic understanding of the people's needs has meant that the procurement of harvested crops and slaughter animals from farmers is being realized practically by 100 percent. Particularly noteworthy is the implementation of slaughter animal procurement, which has amounted to approximately 105 percent of the state plan for a 9-month period of this year. This was accomplished despite the fact that farmers were not guaranteed the means of production due them, particularly coal, motor fuel and spare parts.

In accordance with a Resolution of the Fourth KC Plenum, we have undertaken a series of practical steps for the purpose of assisting farmers in these matters, counting on 100 percent and more procurement of slaughter animals, which should alleviate matters for us in the city as well.

The efforts of farmers, millers, bakers and merchants have enabled a perceptible improvement in the quality and quantity of bread in Poznan (this matter has not yet been settled in Gniezno).

An important element of political moods is the so-called settling of accounts. No one who has committed a crime in our voivodship will go unpunished. Such is the will of the working class. The party is consistently carrying out this often painful and awkward operation relentlessly within its ranks. This gives us the moral right to demand that other social organizations similarly combat the material excesses of their members. In accordance with a PZPR statute, party settling of accounts belongs to a realm that is separate from the echelons of the Party Control Commission [KKP].

In accordance with the best traditions of democracy and political culture, the drafts of the program, prepared by two groups of party members, have been published in the press and have been distributed to delegates. An atypical, discussion-type and even controversial form has been adopted for these programs: brief recommendations are given of the directions of activity to be taken in the most important fields socially and partywise, taking into consideration the economic realities of the term of office within which work is being done.

Having adopted the thesis that the essence of socialist democracy is the self-government, we are in favor of the development of self-governing bodies in factories, in rural areas and in cities.

One of the fundamental expressions of this is the need to open city section people's councils and city section offices in Poznan and the change in the status of the city and voivodship herein issuing.

We do not want to replace the economic and state administration; however, as the party of the working class, we are not indifferent to the consequences of the actions of directorates and offices. We will formulate tasks and keep strict control over the execution of these tasks, by means of members and committees, for the good of working people. We will watch over the selection of cadres--preferring competent, energetic and honest people (including young people), both PZPR members and citizens outside of our party.

We are convinced--and this is the result of the political achievements of Wielkopolska (even in today's critical times)--that as a nation we must feed ourselves and even export food. This is due to the level of modernity of our agriculture and to the diligence of farmers. Our task is not to get a green (or some other) light, but to sell, at temporarily official prices a sufficient amount of: coal, fertilizers, fuels, various tools, means of plant protection and the like.

A priority Poznan industry is the agricultural-foodstuffs industry, and the machine industry of the region must work on behalf of agriculture.

We believe that the only way out of the economic crisis is self-governing economic reform, the outline of which is contained in the Resolutions of the Ninth Congress.

Despite the fact that this will be very difficult, as the workers' party we will be firmly opposed to any form of obvious or concealed unemployment (which will take place during the first period of the institution of the reform).

Realistically evaluating the situation and the possibilities of the economy, we unquestionably will defend investments in the agricultural-foodstuffs field and in housing construction (this is a problem not only of social, but also of political significance), particularly for young people.

We will struggle for the use of various kinds of methods of obtaining housing, including communal construction. One of the initiatives to which we call everyone, and primarily trade unions, is the Housing Bank. Within its framework, in accordance with the party slogan and resolution: "one domicile for one family" we will use "recreational" dachas for housing.

Wretched investment possibilities limit action in the socially important fields of health service and environmental protection. Here, noninvestment possibilities must be sought out. These do exist, in spite of the fact that finding and making use of them will require tremendous efforts, good will and the breaking down of numerous environmental and local particularisms. For example, the health service (buildings which are taken over), transportation (the PKP [Polish State Railroads] and the educational system (buildings which are taken over)).

The Fourth Plenum Resolution, despite the dramatic national situation, does not change the political line of the Ninth Congress--the line of understanding and cooperation. The party is open to cooperation with all patriotic forces which desire to get the country out of crisis and which accept in practice the fundamental systemic-constitutional principles of the PRL [Polish People's Republic]. We shall aim to create a democratic platform of dialogue and

consultation and we invite all organized social and political forces to join us in this.

Wishing you successful deliberations, I ask you to conduct a problem discussion for the purpose of evaluating the work of echelons and enriching program materials. In this way we complete an important stage in the formulation of a program, embarking upon their [sic] implementation, taking action for the good of the working class and the nation as well as for socialism in our country.

#### Comments of Plenum Attendees

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 26 Oct 81 p 4

[Excerpt] Janusz Tomidajewicz, scientific employee, Economics Academy: It is our duty to speak out on the issue of the policy taking shape today, after the Fourth Plenum. I understand the selection of a new KC first secretary to be the result of dissatisfaction with the effectiveness of party activity.

Today we have a situation in which other programs exist in addition to the party program, programs which are in competition with it. Thus, the party program can be treated as an alternative or we can aim to ram it through. Whatever is selected depends on the strength of social support, on whether this program will be convincing and whether the party will have credibility. Every false and ineffectual move on our part will make the selection of this program more difficult.

The party program today cannot be treated as definitive; it should be open to all sorts of initiatives. This is perhaps how we should understand the demand for the creation of a broad platform of all forces making up the nation.

Janusz Konieczny, first secretary, Niechanowo KG [Gmina Committee]: Upon the authorization of my constituency, I have presented the issues which are of the greatest urgency to farmers: the full guarantee of the means of agricultural production and the control of agricultural policy with the aid of prices. Errors in pricing policy wreak unfavorable consequences, e.g., in the decline in livestock (high prices for grain and fodder and low prices for slaughter animals). These errors have been corrected, but their consequences continue.

Besides the means of agricultural production, farmers also demand equal rights in the allotment of other articles--cleaning agents, clothing and also meat.

Wojciech Trawinski, engineer from WPEC [Voivodship Electric Power and Heating Industry]: The faulty operation of the heating system paralyzes many fields of life. Heat does not depend only on fuel. The developmental needs of the city require that in 1985, at the latest, a new heating station be in operation; the construction of new main conduits, or at least of one, is necessary. The maintenance of equipment should be carried out by specialized enterprises.

It is likely that beginning next year, the urban heating situation will get worse and worse. Improvement, on the other hand, depends on the efforts of city and voivodship authorities to introduce and continue those investments in the power field which are absolutely indispensable.

Czeslaw Baranek, first secretary, Duszniki EG [Gmina Committee]: The Duszniki Gmina is notably agricultural and ranks high in goods production. In spite of this, it has the same problems as all others--a shortage of the means of agricultural production, fuel, construction materials, rubber footwear and others, as well as a shortage of food, particularly meat and sugar. The distribution of food and industrial articles is supposed to be contingent upon the level of productivity of the given gmina--the more is produced, the more is to be received. Meanwhile, the data on the level of this gmina's fulfillment of its agricultural obligations compared to the way its stores are supplied indicate that farmers do not have incentives to increase production.

Andrzej Baraniecki, adjunct to the Poznan Agricultural Academy: After stipulating that his address could not be entered into the official record because he was making it without notes, he commented at length on the draft of the socioeconomic program in the Poznan voivodship. He pointed out the need for making particular sentences in the chapters of this document more precise, for replacing certain expressions with other, more precise ones and for changing some chapter titles. In analyzing a chapter which discusses democracy and the self-government, he pointed out that the increase in the responsibility of plant directorates should be emphasized more clearly here. In trying to make statements from the chapter "Let the Law Be the Law" more accurate, the speaker asserted that the form used for the names of former authorities accused of excesses in the bulletin published by the PZPR KW, was inadmissible. Without their guilt having been proved, they were unjustly punished with moral retribution. The discussant also proposed changes in other chapters to make them more precise.

The speaker sharply attacked GAZETA POZNANSKA, which cut and, according to him, distorted the sense of his statement in a report from the first part of the Conference (here we quote comrade Baraniecki): "The press released a castrated gelding with its legs broken."

Lech Bartkowiak, ZNTK [Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops] employee, asserted that priority should be given to all activities which will serve the development of agriculture. The speaker expressed the fear that the worker-peasant alliance is breaking down, and farmers are being blamed for not selling their farm produce and slaughter animals to purchasing centers, while industry is not supplying machinery and fertilizers to rural areas. He also pointed out the degenerate situation that continues in our people's nation in which rascals live well and hard working laborers live at the borderline of the minimum.

The discussant stated that the Conference must take a stand on the nationwide, one-hour strike called by the KKP [Solidarity National Consultative Commission] and, at the same time, must define the position to be taken by party members with regard to this political strike.

Marianna Przewoznik, supervisor in the Disabled Veterans' Service Cooperative in Poznan, devoted her entire statement to the social and daily-living issues of the elderly, pensioners and disabled veterans: "These are not issues to be settled in time," she asserted. "These issues must be settled immediately! Particularly now as we prepare for winter."

Comrade Przemysznik said that the program has much to say about improving living conditions for young people, but it makes no mention of improving the lot of those whom fate has harmed most severely. She noted the wretched working conditions in most disabled veterans' cooperatives, and also gave many concrete examples of the discrimination of disabled veterans in offices, services centers and retail stores.

In conclusion she appealed to the youth, to social organization and to all people of good will to help the elderly and disabled veterans. "We are, after all, one family," she said, "and there must be a place for everyone in this family."

Kazimierz Konarski, GOPLAN technologist: Our goods are regulated and work is in full swing despite the raw materials shortages. Our production levels are the same as in previous years. Then why is there a shortage of sugar at the market? It's hard to say; the price is certainly a factor here.

During the first part of the conference I stated with optimism that we will get out of the crisis, but now this optimism deserts me. I cannot believe that not fully 3 months after the Congress, a new first secretary has been chosen.

Accounts have not yet been settled with the people who took advantage of their service positions. Those who were compromised are sent abroad, where they request political asylum. We must be concerned with social justice, hence the importance of the evocative slogan: "one domicile for one family." But there are still people who have two or three residences.

Leszek Nowak, employee, Poznan-East Construction Works, gave a detailed analysis of the chapter of the program entitled "For One Family One Domicile." He stated that this is a fair assumption, but that it is unrealistic for the next few years because we are lacking developed areas, sewage treatment plants and water service pipes. This is the result of the limited production of cement, steel and aggregates. These materials--cement, steel and aggregates--should be given priority treatment for housing and industrial construction; other materials should be designated for single-family housing construction. Thus we must adopt a less effective, but realistic program in construction.

The speaker stated that the proposed program draft lacks a diagnosis of the state of the economy and of the position of our voivodship on the national scale. He demanded that the voivodship party organization engage in broader economic contacts with the other voivodships of Wielkopolska. He pointed out that voivodship authorities should make decisions concerning the transfer of food to other regions.

Bogumiil Janicki, secretary, PZPR KD [City Section Committee], Poznan--Nowe Miasto [New Town], expressing his position on the PZPR KC Fourth Plenum resolution, devoted particular attention to an item in it which discusses work on various days of the week. He demanded that a team of power industry specialists be appointed by the Voivodship Committee to draw up a balancesheet of power needs as well as a program for the operation of particular plants on various days of the week. This would enable the maximum production and the limitation of the problems associated with the energy crisis and would eliminate charges for forced stoppages and losses due to shut-offs.

Speaking of intraparty matters, comrade Janicki postulated that it was necessary to streamline the transmission of information, speeding it up and expanding it. He was also critical of the strike and of the announcement of teachers' strikes asserting that this is not an upbringing model for the young generation.

Sabina Kotulska, teacher from Poznan: "Without a modern, socialist system of teaching and upbringing, the proper formation of subsequent generations is impossible. We have been dreaming of 10-year old girls," stated comrade Kotulska, "but we are not able to cope with the current issues of the school system and with current teachers' issues. A problem which requires an immediate solution is the question of preschool upbringing. We must make it available to considerably more children than at present, recovering all available locations for this purpose. In seeking them out, however, we should not fail to notice entire buildings, such as, e.g., the building formerly used for the County People's Council on Stalingrad street, which has been empty for 3 years."

Comrade Kotulska also spoke of the lagging behind of textbook publications for new teaching programs. Speaking of the Teacher's Charter, she pointed out the differences that have become apparent in this regard between the resolution of the Ninth Congress and governmental implementation.

Stefan Kupidura, ACROMET, Poznan, stated that in the portion of the program draft concerning agriculture, too little is said concerning issues of the processing, storage and trade of agricultural-consumer products. He also stated that shifting industry to the production of articles needed for agriculture will require real economic incentives for industry. This is because, under an economic reform system, there may occur the phenomenon of the production of that which is most profitable for the plant and the elimination of products which bring relatively less profit. He postulated that economists propose an appropriate motivational system for plants producing on behalf of agriculture.

Zefiryn Grabak, chairman, ZW ZSMP [Voivodship Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth]: "Just as democracy is not a gesture of authority, understanding the needs of the younger generation cannot be a gesture. We must ask ourselves what will happen if the youth do not accept the current program? And they will not accept it if their problems are overlooked. We want the real recognition of our role as co-steerers of the country, the satisfaction of professional aspirations, the assurance of conditions of a reasonable start in life and the guarantee of its harmonious development." The speaker announced a plan for the appointment of a special team under the voivodship governor's office for resolving the problems of the younger generation. He stated that economic reform which has no basis in the youth has no chance of success.

In conclusion he discussed the current ZSMP situation. This organization is searching for its identity and wants to speak of its own matters in its own voice. The ZSMP is the party of a real ally.

Miodzimierz Fischer, in the name of the PZPR KV [Voivodship Committee] Scientific Commission, expressed the need for the creation of a regional center for scientific coordination, which would voluntarily integrate scientists around important regional issues. It would undertake to solve problems of vital significance to the economy, culture and science. Among other things, it could

concentrate its efforts on problems of the development of a new, local fodder base for farming. Such a team should act not only upon the needs of the Poznan voivodship.

Włodzimierz Danecki, employee of the Railroad Automation Plants in Poznan, informed participants of the Conference of the action taken thus far by the PZPR KW Ideological Commission and its program of work. A primary goal in ideological activity is to convince society that the party has credibility. To this end, real discussions and the free exchange of thoughts should be carried out. Soon a party university will come into being directed by the program council, grouping together active party members, scientific workers, journalists and teachers of history. The form of ideological training in the voivodship has changed; the transmission of current information from the KC and KW to local party organizations by teletype is being introduced on a broad scale. The profile of the PZPR KW Bulletin in Poznan has been modified. In conclusion the speaker stressed that the actions which have been undertaken will not be feasible without the fundamental efforts of party organizations.

Jerzy Paszke, director of the Poznan Poultry Plants: "I believe that the program, the points of which we are discussing today, is a feasible program. However, we are not taking into consideration the time factor. Many good decisions, above all in the economic sphere, have been introduced in a sluggish manner. The time which has elapsed since the first round of the Conference has been lost time; much of which we spoke in June has been obliterated."

Today we will resolve a program of action in the most important spheres for our voivodship. Who is to implement it? You answer--we are. Is it only we? The entire society must implement it. Whoever hampers the introduction of this program is the enemy of society.

To the warning strike called by the KKP we answer--no! No one can prohibit us from producing food and from producing goods to fill empty shelves in stores.

Of late we have spoken a great deal about the introduction of economic reform, about the "three S's" [independence, self-government, self-financing]. But we should constantly keep in mind three other factors which are: reason, imagination and courage.

Linusz Zwodziak, first secretary, PZPR KD [City Section Committee], Poznań-Jezyce: "Our Conference must make clear, in a resolution, its position on recent KKP proposals. We must protest against the sowing of confusion in the country. We must clearly state that the road for improving the situation in our country is not the strike. I am afraid that those who go to work on Wednesday will be harassed. We must protect these people."

The discussant spoke at length on intraparty work, which, above all, is to strengthen the directorial role of the PZPR. "We must clearly state," he asserted, "that we will not allow party organizations to be cast out of plants, and such attempts have been made recently."

In conclusion the speaker stated: "We are talking too much. Let's not talk the party away, let's get to work!"

Stanislaw Janc, from Poznan AMINO: "My party organization has conferred upon me the duty of bringing up the problems of the meat market at this Conference. My comrades from the plant have made a list of requests to the Conference on this matter, asking that the points therein also be supported. We calculate that the participants in the Conference will declare themselves in favor of the full satisfaction of meat rationing needs in our voivodship. Society is of the opinion that, of the amount of procurement that exceeds the plan, we should keep at least one-half of the mass of meat to correct the food situation in preschools, hospitals and social care institutions. We must bind the administration to assume more effective control over all rationing cards, for the repeated registration of unimplemented meat rationing cards smacks of scandal."

Jan Ludek, MO [Citizens' Militia] Municipal Command in Poznan: "Many demands have issued from this platform, many stipulations; but I am wondering what concrete things you comrades will do back home--in the academic institutions, in schools, at work, to implement the resolutions? We have been seized by a frenzy to settle accounts. Some comrades are already considering now how to settle accounts with the current authorities.

"A special atmosphere has been created among MO officials; they are talking about high wages and privileges. There are the demands of the various professional groups who call for higher wages for overtime. We are not paid for overtime; we don't have Saturdays off. Hence the 200 vacancies in our commands. Is society helping us? Call to mind the behavior of the crowd on the Dworcowy bridge or on Wola street, where a man was murdered before a crowd of gaping onlookers.

"I appeal today to anyone willing 'to work.' I propose that we begin with ourselves."

Jaroslaw Swierczynski, farmer from the RSP [Agricultural Producers' Cooperative] in the Wrzesien gmina [parish]: "The slogan 'Polish agriculture is one' still remains a slogan. Those at the bottom, however, are not divided. There one finds farmers, regardless of the sector they represent and their orientation, in agreement. Conflicts are ushered in, however, by those decisions which give preference to individual farmers or to others. Agricultural production cooperatives have been implementing the principle of the "three S's" for a long time. For some, these are uncomfortable because they would have to acknowledge that the concept of the real self-government copies our actions. The production cooperative farms on scarcely 4.5 percent of the land, and sells 11 percent of the grain and 9 percent of the slaughter animals. Thus, it cannot be discriminated against and allowed to fall apart." The speaker also called for the more just allocation of food. "We do not want to feed do-nothings! Why, in our country, does the Constitution speak of every citizen's right to work, when in other states it is directly stated that this is an obligation?"

Ronald Sobolewski, Voivodship Consultative Commission of the Branch Trade Unions (BZZ): Calling to mind the path that the branch union movement has traversed from August 1980, the speaker pointed to the deep transformation in the style and methods of its operation. The class origins of the branch unions obliges them

to support the socialist structure and to recognize the leadership role of the party. Union members under the new conditions are trying to serve the work force as best they can. They are likewise always ready to cooperate constructively with other trade unions, including Solidarity. Unfortunately, such cooperation does not always come about, too often it is cast aside, although the indivisible interest of working people should be the primary good for all.

Branch unions, sensitive to the difficult situation of the country, do not promise their members unrealistic things. However, they are trying to defend employee interests through actions and not words.

Kazimierz Gorny, master in the Steel Casting Plant, HCP [H. Cegielski Works, Poznan] in Srem, expressed the view that the central authorities and other regions of the country should model themselves upon the experiences of the Poznan voivodship. "Here we know how to get along, we dispel conflicts and tension successfully. We work honestly and with a sense of sacrifice, although it is just as difficult for us as it is for the inhabitants of other voivodships. If everyone takes the example of Poznan regarding how to work and how to set up the relations between various social forces, getting out of the crisis will be simpler."

"At the same time, we demand that political anarchy in the country be stopped and that the resolution of the Fourth Plenum of the PZPR KC regarding this be implemented," stated comrade Gorny. "We have the moral right to demand law and order, security and respect for the law."

Discussion prepared by: Hanna Wojciechowska, Andrzej Niczyperowicz and Wacław Rogalewicz

#### Selected Approved Resolutions

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 26 Oct 81 p 4

##### /Excerpt/ A Resolution Concerning Dismissal from the PZPR

One of the fundamental conditions of the party's credibility is the process of the complete settling of accounts with all of its members who have let down the party and society, taking advantage of their positions for personal ends.

We may not punish those comrades who are not guilty, in this way creating reasons for their future rehabilitation. Hence, the careful examination of all cases, prolonging the process of the settling of accounts.

Additional factors have been the dodging of the accused and their numerous connections with interest groups. The break-up of these groups and the Party Control Commission's concluding of the investigative procedure makes possible today the undertaking of a final decision in the cases of: Jerzy Zasada, Bogdan Waligorski and Józef Scibisz.

The aforementioned have lost the party's confidence, having placed personal interest above the good of society. The Conference resolves that they be dismissed from the party.

Moreover, upon the recommendation of the delegates, the following are dismissed:  
Czeslaw Galgan, Jozef Switaj and Stanislaw Cozas.

The Conference binds the WKKP [Voivodship Party Control Commission] to carry the settling of accounts to its conclusion when the subsequent investigations have been completed.

#### A Resolution concerning Territorial Self-Government

The Voivodship Party Conference declares itself to be in favor of the introduction of territorial self-government as the operational basis for the functioning of cities and gminas.

In conjunction with this we call for:

1. The restoration of city section people's councils and city section offices in Poznan.
2. The appointment of communal services, the sole task of which will be to take care of housing matters and the city infrastructure.
3. The introduction of communal ownership as a form of social ownership, the subject of which is the community of the gmina and the city.
4. The preparation of a system for creating the budget of cities and gminas, which would activate civic initiatives and would develop a sense of civic responsibility for the state of living conditions.
5. Changes in the existing administrative division of the country in the direction of opening territorial units, taking into account the historical, cultural and economic ties arbitrarily broken in 1975.

8536  
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PZPR MEETINGS OF RZESZOW AND TARNOBRZEC VOIVODSHIPS REPORTED

Rzeszow Voivodship

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 6-8 Nov 81 pp 1, 2

[From the Deliberations of the Executive Board of the KW (Voivodship Committee) of PZPR in Rzeszow"]

[Text] The Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee of PZPR determined on Thursday / the tasks for the committee and party organizations in their work with youth organizations. /

The Polish events of last year pointed out the prominent role the younger segment of our society has to play. It proved the importance of the role of the younger generation in sociopolitical and economic life. The struggle for winning the youth over is still going on; therefore, advancing a new ideological offering towards the youth is a task for the party. In other words, a program should be drawn up which the young people could share in. No less important are the activities of committees, party organizations and party members which would assist the youth in fulfilling their aspirations.

Organizations such as the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP), Rural Youth Union (ZMW), Socialist Union of Polish Students (SZSP) and the Polish Scout Union (ZHP) have numerous well-organized memberships in Rzeszow voivodship. Representatives of these organizations took part in this meeting. The Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee was acquainted with the current membership and political situation in these organizations. It considered what could be done in order to assist the organizations in the implementation of their goals with respect for their full independence. The youth organizations are rooted in various social groups; therefore, the Executive Board stated that their methods of activities should be different. They should be adjusted to the age and interests of the membership.

Among other things, such activities as upbringing through labor, participation in furthering technological progress, actions designed to save raw and other materials were acknowledged to be beneficial for the country with respect to the elements of the ZSMP operating in industrial enterprises. The vital importance of patronal housing construction was stressed; opportunities to shorten the waiting period for one's own apartment through enterprise housing construction programs were pointed out. Administrative authorities of the voivodship were obligated to exact the fulfillment of a 15 percent quota of the merchandise resources for young married couples. Attention was drawn to the role & l importance of cultural and entertainment activities for the youth.

Excerpts from further resolutions state that the postulates forwarded by the young people to the administrative authorities should be fulfilled; social problems and problems of living conditions of students should be solved within the scope of this entire social group.

Taking into account concrete issues of the younger generation and proceeding from the concern for its ideologico-political level, organizational goals for party committees and organizations were set at the meeting of the Executive Board.

Further on, the Executive Board heard information on the preparations for the new year of party indoctrination. Proceeding from the assumption that indoctrination is necessary for each party member and candidate—which life has borne out—heads of party echelons and party organizations were obligated to consistently conduct training sessions in the format and by the methods currently available. The Executive Board attaches high hopes to the activity of lecturers, perhaps the best form of acquainting the party with current political and economic problems. Short-term courses, mainly in outlying areas, will be organized for the party aktiv. The superior form of training, the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism (WUML) will also be conducted. As far as the topics for training are concerned, the key issues pervading the party and the society of the nation were preferred: issues of the economic reform, current rural policy and internal party affairs.

The Executive Board also discussed some problems associated with the current economic situation, including the issue of supplying the inhabitants of the voivodship with foodstuffs and consumer durables. In accordance with the feeling of the society of the voivodship it decided to approach the Central Committee and the government with a proposal on the even-handed and just treatment of the level of supply in particular regions of the country. This refers primarily to the items subject to rationing.

#### Tarnobrzeg Voivodship

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 6-8 Nov 81 pp 1, 2

[**"From the Deliberations of the Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee of PZPR in Tarnobrzeg"** passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] As we have previously informed our readers, the Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee of PZPR in Tarnobrzeg took up the concept of the development of housing construction until 1985 at one of its previous sessions. The commission which was then set up prepared some proposals on this issue, which it offered to the attention of the Executive Board at its session on November 5, 1981.

The scope of housing construction was defined, proceeding from the assumption that the main social goals in this sphere are the stabilization of the waiting period for cooperative apartments at 10 years and securing the development of this kind of construction in the regions where key industrial projects are being carried out.

It was considered necessary to set the target for cooperative housing construction at 5200 apartments, and respectively, for enterprise housing construction at 2000 apartments (for the needs of the Polaniec electric power station, "Ozarow" cement mill, steel mill "Stalowa Wola," Sulphur Mining and Processing Enterprise (KIZPS) and the Czybow sulphur mine, Gorzyce Transport Equipment Plant (WSK), Nowa Doba Foundry and Window Glass mill in Sandomierz) and for communal housing construction—at 250 apartments.

Three versions of the program were adopted, termed basic (7450 apartments), maximum (with the same quantity of apartments, securing a lead-time in land development for the duration of the next five-year plan, which would enable the construction of 13,000 apartments during that period and the stabilization of waiting time at 10 years) and, finally the minimal version assuming that investment will be preserved at the present level (about 3.5 billion zlotys over a five-year plan). This third version envisages the opportunity of constructing 4000 apartments, and, accordingly, the postponement until much later of the implementation of social goals.

The possibility of implementing these particular versions was evaluated. The needs in the sphere of land development were defined and housing construction potential was assessed. Among other things, it was stated in the motions that neither of the versions presented had been allocated guaranteed funds for implementation. It was considered necessary to ensure such funds for the minimal version and simultaneously prepare the investments determining the implementation of the basic version as well as to apply for necessary funds.

During the discussion, references were made to talks between the government commission and the Regional Strike Committee underway in Stalowa Wola, since housing construction is among the main subjects negotiated there. It was recognized that housing construction and broadly defined infrastructure associated with it are at present the most important social problems of Tarnobrzeg voivodship. Administrative authorities, enterprises and units involved in housing construction will be held responsible for the implementation of the minimal version; however, they must, should adequate conditions arise, do everything to achieve the goals of the basic version.

It was decided to undertake actions aimed at setting up a civil engineering enterprise. The Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee will approach the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the PZPR with an adequately justified motion in the matter.

It was recommended to update the waiting lists of housing cooperatives and also to analyze the material intensiveness of various housing construction techniques.

It was decided to widely discuss the draft program at the primary level with party echelons, trade unions and socio-professional communities associated with construction. Only after this consultation will the draft be introduced for consideration by the voivodship People's Council.

As a further item on the agenda, the implementation of commitments to agriculture made by the industry of the voivodship was discussed. The needs of agriculture in tractors, machinery and spare parts exceed supply several times in the voivodship. For example, the list of scarce spare parts for tractors and agricultural machinery includes 142 items.

In January 1981, an exchange of scarce parts was organized in Tarnobrzeg where representatives of 35 enterprises participated. The sponsors, the Voivodship Administration Board, the "Agroma" from Kielce and the Voivodship Basic Agricultural School "SCh" presented the needs of agricultural to the interested parties. Twelve enterprises committed themselves to implementing production of 6 pieces of machinery and 12 lines of spare parts, the total value being 50.3 million zlotys. The largest commitments were made by the iron mill "Stalowa Wola," the machine tool plant "Ponar"

in Tarnobrzeg and the Craftsmen Cooperative from Janow Lubelski. The Transport Equipment Plant in Gorzyce has fully delivered on its commitments, it has produced 6,000 pistons for "Ursus" tractors worth 1.7 million zlotys, delivering them for distribution by "Agroma" in Kielce. The iron mill "Stalowa Wola" has produced only 43 pairs of gear wheels, valued at 86,000 zlotys instead of the intended 100. In June, it also signed up for the production of an additional 16 spare parts for the "Ursus" tractor and the "Bizon" combined harvester, but "Agroma" did not accept the producer prices it offered, which were several times higher than the currently official ones. This enterprise has also failed to produce 2,000 frames for 3-furrow plows and 1,000 tractor-drawn harrows (these were to be produced by the branch plants in Janow Lubelski and Lubaczow.)

The foundries in Nova Deba and "Nimet" in Nisko, cooperatives and machine centers have had a mixed success in meeting their commitments. On the whole, the situation is not good. The total value of produced machinery and spare parts is only 9.7 million zlotys, or 19 percent of the commitments made.

Members of the Executive Board were also interested in the progress of agricultural procurement based on the principle of the so-called linked delivery, in the distribution of tractors and agricultural machinery. Information provided on this subject was rejected as incredible due to the incongruity of estimates of these interrelated issues. The setting-up of review teams was recommended, with members of the volvodship committee and individual farmers as members in order to investigate the distribution of machinery, the degree of fulfillment fo commitments made by the industry to agriculture, and the situation in the so-called linked sales. It was recommended that guidelines for such sales be kept until the end of 1981, with guaranteed deliveries to the peasants of machinery, equipment and materials.

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POLAND

**ALTERNATIVE VIEW OF SZSP ACTIVITY OFFERED**

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Nov 81 p 4

[Article by Wieslaw Debaski: "Polemics: 'SZSP a Year after the Congress'"]

[Text] /In "TRYBUNA LUDU" 11 November 1981 app. is an article by Ilona Morzol entitled "SZSP Socialist Union of Polish Students a Year after the Congress--What's Ahead?," which was supposed to be an attempt at a critique of a year's activity of SZSP. Like any attempt at a critique of a social movement, written at a desk, based on a few documents and incomplete observations of a few conferences, it has to be unreliable. If one wants to accomplish such a critique, one has to show up at the educational institution earlier, talk to the people who are working out organizational programs directly among the students./

Reporter Morzol included in her article a lot of assessments with which I, as a member of SZSP and leader of the Union, cannot agree.

I recall that the 3rd SZSP Congress accepted the SZSP Declaration, the Program Platform and the SZSP Statute. These documents constituted the general framework of the organizational programs. Right after the Congress, a team made up of representatives from all the communities worked out a SZSP political program; it was then discussed in the entire organization, and its propositions were changed many times. It acquired its final form in the 3rd Plenum of the SZSP Supreme Council. The rather long period between the 3rd Congress and the 3rd Plenum was caused on the one hand by a discussion over the documents, and on the other by the fact that life did not favor a formal settlement. Student strikes, "the Bydgoszcz affair" and SZSP's participation in these events determined in practice the political organizational program, which found its expression in a document accepted later. This program is not finally closed, for day-to-day life simply corrects it. But the program of organizational activity was accepted at the 1st Plenum, a month after the Congress.

In listening to discussions of the SZSP aktiv, closely reading our documents, and, lastly, observing the ongoing activity of the Union, it is possible to discover the fine points of the political organizational program, as well as how the SZSP perceives its own part in the "alliance of reasonable people." One just has to go to "SZSP's Political Program," in order to find the political definitions of the organization, whose main points are the socialist character of SZSP, its independence and constructiveness of its work. We also include there the

understanding of these definitions. When we permit a discussion within the framework of SZSP on how we understand socialism, when we also want to have in the organization those who are not Marxists, does this mean that the organization is not defined? I believe that in a socialist organization there is room for Marxists and Catholics. I suppose that reporter Marzol thinks otherwise; we do not debate with dogmatists.

All along we have striven to be a constructive organization, building a positive program, bringing forward concrete proposals for solutions to the problems of the country and community. That is why, from the beginning of 1981, we put forward a proposal for the creation of a plane of constant dialogue of different social forces (which is presently being realized in the Front of National Accord). Our seats in the alliance of forces of reason give an indication of our actions so far in conflicting situations--and that is not all. We always strive to solve argument arguments by means of negotiation. I wish to remind reporter Marzol that it was the SZSP which came forth with a proposal during the student strikes for summing the Mixed Commission which would have tried to solve the inflated conflict; it was the SZSP that called for a resolution to the Bydgoszcz conflict; it was the SZSP that made an attempt in the Uniejow to resolve the conflict around the Law on Higher Schools. However, this does not mean the SZSP does not recognize a strike as a form of protest; the events of March and of recent days attest to that. In both cases these strikes were caused by the extreme incompetence of the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Technology.

We have translated our "Political Program" into concrete goals, into methods for their realization. The above examples are a witness to the realization of the most important goal in our political activities (contained in the declaration "What we are Fighting for"). Moreover, one can mention here, for example, point 2 of this declaration, which deals with the history of most recent Poland. We can point here to our substantial publications, discussion meetings carried out at least in the "Hybrydy" club, OPP [expansion unknown] "Sigma" and OPP DEFActo in Wroclaw. It would be difficult to mention here other socialist organizations which may compete with us in this respect. One could provide numerous examples. Reporter Marzol devoted a lot of space to the matter of procedure, for example, the absence of a quorum, etc. However, we have made a decision in a consistent way to abide by democratic principle and we want and must bear the price for this.

SZSP defined its relationship to the Independent Association of Students (NZS) (though in contradistinction to "TRYBUNA LUDU"). In the documents of the Supreme Council, one can find the statement that the SZSP will, where possible, cooperate with NZS, without eschewing confrontation in these debates. Every member of the SZSP may speak about ideological and political questions at educational institutions just as it is done in life.

Toward the end of her article, reporter Marzol writes in regard to the union and social activity of SZSP--"...one can already talk about a certain outline to the program." I wish to remind her that at press conferences and elsewhere we have presented time and again not an outline, but a very detailed SZSP social program--from a new plan for a stipend system, health care, vacations involving sport and tourism to means of employment, student cooperative societies, etc. It is necessary to stress that SZSP is the only organization so far which has been seriously dealing with these problems. In regard to all of this, I would like to

know if reporter Ilona Morzol listened attentively to our discussions, read our documents, if she talked with our colleagues at educational institutions.

I, for my part, offer reporter Morzol my help in keeping her in touch with the Faculty Councils and sections of the SZSP which will enable her to become more closely acquainted with our Union and its problems.

I sincerely thank you for all the attention given to my text and your offer of help. I would be happy if I found the arguments included in your polemics confirmed in the practical activity of your organization--a hope I had expressed at the end of my article.

/ ILONA MORZOL/

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ZSMP MAIN BOARD VICE CHAIRMAN INTERVIEWED

Warsaw WALKA MLODYCH in Polish 29 Nov 81 pp 5, 15

[Interview with Jaroslaw Klima, vice-chairman of the ZSMP Main Board by Henry Urbankowski]

[Text] Henry Urbankowski talks with Jaroslaw Klima, vice chairman of the ZSMP Main Board, about the position of the Union of Socialist Youth (ZSMP) in work places before the economic reform.

[Question] How many members does the ZSMP have?

[Answer] I do not know. We will have a census in January.

[Question] There is a noticeable decrease in ZSMP membership. Why?

[Answer] There is a disillusionment in the ZSMP in its pre-Congress format, no doubt about that. Also, the fact that many of our members have become socially and politically active in other organizations, especially in the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union (NSZZ) Solidarity.

[Question] You talk about it so calmly.

[Answer] Because there is nothing to be upset about. You know how it was before August 1980 with that magic of big numbers and rising statistics. Today nobody thinks that way any more. Now, when organizations are being founded in competition to the ZSMP, we have gotten rid of "dead souls," or members who did not care about the Union's program.

[Question] The average age of the Union members has gone up recently. The most visible members are the ones in their late twenties and early thirties.

[Answer] This process of aging had been caused by the distribution of constituencies within the Federation. Only since last spring have we become more active in high schools. The effects will be known in a year or so when our suggested program for those young people will have been given a chance.

[Question] Are there any visible results of the renewal of the ZSMP?

[Answer] Not widely yet. But for example in Rybnik, where we had worked closely with school youth before, we note an increase in membership. And that is good news, because now you cannot force anybody to join the ZSMP. And there are still old prejudices against the Union.

[Question] But it would be hard to say that half a year after the Congress the Union has become more effective. And that is what many young people were counting on. I keep hearing from those who are disappointed and disillusioned, there are even those who want a 4th Congress.

[Answer] But which organization is effective today? Which finds it easy to implement its goals? Show me.

[Question] I have been thinking about Solidarity, but if Solidarity has to revert to such methods as strikes, then I am not fully convinced.

[Answer] Precisely. And those, who want a new ZSMP Congress, should be asked: what is the point of a permanent program-electoral campaign?

[Question] The demand for a new congress may imply a negative evaluation of the ZSMP officials, the administration from Smolna Street. I recall that when you were running for chairman during the ZSMP Congress, you yourself said that the first thing you would do if you were elected would be to fire all those Smolna bureaucrats.

[Answer] It was not exactly so, although I got a lot of negative comments.

[Question] I do not know. I was eavesdropping at the door because reporters were not allowed in the room at the time.

[Answer] I also said that I would do it after thoroughly checking their qualifications to work in the administration of a civic organization. Today I would feel bad if at that time somebody had been so brusque with my colleagues from the Working Youth Department. During my long career in the Union I have never seen people working so hard as they have recently.

[Question] One always blows one's own trumpet.

[Answer] I can give you concrete examples.

[Question] We will talk about them later. To my mind, what counts is not that you work your tail off, but that you produce results. Has the Union produced any results so far?

[Answer] The time is such that in order to accomplish something, you have to work several times harder than before, you have to overcome more obstacles because there are more battle fronts. It is also more difficult to find out who will help and who will hurt. To me, the biggest success of the ZSMP to date is the fact that the organization exists, that it has gained new, tremendous political experience in these hard times, in spite of attacks against us.

[Question] Attacks by Solidarity?

[Answer] No. Solidarity as a union has remained neutral towards us. In many work places one can even talk about a cooperation beneficial to both sides. To be sure, within Solidarity there were attempts to found new youth organizations, alternative to the ZSMP, but not much has come out of those attempts. There have been also personal attacks on our activists. So when we talk about Solidarity, we should not talk about the whole union, only about certain political forces and individuals within Solidarity.

[Question] So where exactly did those attacks come from?

[Answer] Most conspicuously, from the media unsympathetic to us. To be sure, we expected criticism, but not tendentious attacks.

[Question] You have been criticized, among other things, for ignoring problems of young people.

[Answer] This will sound like a broken record, but it is worth repeating: Nine out of the 21 demands by the shipyard workers in Gdańsk had been included earlier in the ZSMP program approved at our 2nd Congress.

[Question] But you have not implemented even one of those nine demands.

[Answer] We did not have enough time. After all, the 2nd Congress came only 3 months before the August 1980 events. But even in such a short time we initiated procedures to negotiate those demands with the authorities. To be sure, without much hope that they would be implemented fully and quickly. Let us compare our effectiveness and Solidarity's. How many of those 21 demands have been implemented by that powerful union, using the methods that they do? If we look at it from this perspective, there is no use to be upset that some of our members have joined Solidarity, or that others have become elected party officials. Today, for the most part, they are our allies. I believe that we should strive, among other things, to revise the concept of youth which in Poland has been artificially prolonged.

[Question] And for the time being the ZSMP is increasingly becoming a trade union for youth.

[Answer] Because Polish youth has become a specific and distinctly separate social group which crosses class divisions, a group with great, unfulfilled aspirations, and what is worse, a group whose most important necessities of life have also been ignored. At the same time, there is no political or social force in Poland which would focus on meeting the needs of the young people.

[Question] What about the Polish United Workers Party (PZPR)?

[Answer] Verbally, yes. In its programs. But only in response to our demands and lobbying efforts, not of its own will. We are becoming a trade union not because of the will or whim of our top-ranking activists, but because of the pressure from young people who come to us with their problems. The paradox of the Polish political system is that it is easier for us as a youth organization to become an independent force with trade-union or even political status than to deal with the young people's problems through the party or Solidarity channels.

[Question] But the problem remains. Do you not think that you have wasted over half a year fighting to establish the Committee on Youth Affairs at the Ministry Council?

[Answer] But the Main Board has concentrated on other things as well.

[Question] And yet that is how it is perceived by myself and by others.

[Answer] You can blame it on the mass media, including WALKA MŁOKYCH. To go back to the fight for the Committee, I must say I admire Jerzy Jaskiernia for his persistence and fortitude. At the Congress Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski bought our idea on the spot. He gave us his word, and then he waited for a directive from the Political Bureau, for the approval by other youth organizations. I do not think it was really he who was stalling. After the idea of the Committee was accepted, prior to the 9th PZPR Congress, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee did not really want to put this idea to work.

[Question] It would mean then that they wanted to lower the status of youth organizations.

[Answer] Worse. To ignore the problems of the young generation.

[Question] Why is that Committee so important to you?

[Answer] Because, for example, when at a cabinet meeting there is a discussion about suspending consumer credit, a person with the mandate of the youth organizations--it may be even deputy prime minister himself--would say no and defend the credit for young couples or young independent farmers who are just starting out on their own.

[Question] Let us suppose there will be no Committee after all. Then you will have to keep on with what you have been doing so far.

[Answer] Of course, except that it would take more time and effort on our part and in the part of the government. It would also make it more difficult to coordinate our activities. So who needs those difficulties when times are difficult enough?

[Question] What can the ZSMP Main Board be proud of? What has been accomplished since the Congress took place a half a year ago?

[Answer] Among the so-called spectacular successes there is the new law about maternity leaves and benefits, which we strongly supported. To be sure, in these inflationary times the new law has a limited impact. That law was signed under duress circumstances. A group of our delegates threatened to stage a sit-in in the room where one of the sections of the 9th PZPR Congress was holding its meeting and that is how they forced deputy minister to go to the prime minister and ask him to sign the new act into law. The prime minister had kept it in his desk, ready to be signed, for several weeks. This time he signed it immediately. Generally speaking, during those 6 months since our congress we have continued to get ready to work on behalf of the young people and to represent their interests during the economic reform.

[Question] The ZSMP had taken its stand on the reform even before the congress.

[Answer] We supported a radical and speedy reform, within a short time, although we realized that such a reform would cause serious perturbations on the job market and in the production process during its implementation. At the same time, we have been thinking and talking about ways to minimize these negative effects.

[Question] You mean, to slow down, to ease the speed of the reform?

[Answer] No. A majority--a huge majority--of our members wanted a swift and radical reform and they would not accept any stalling. But our responsibility has been to prepare people for necessary sacrifice and to minimize the impact of that sacrifice.

[Question] Could you explain this with some concrete examples?

[Answer] Let us take the problem of unemployment. People will have questions and doubts about it. Those reporters who simplify the problem even quote numbers of vacant positions. But does that mean that we will not have temporary unemployment, that it will not affect young people in particular? We are preparing young people for the worst. We realize that structurally there is already considerable unemployment and that every young person's ambition is to have a job commensurate with his or her qualifications. But will it be possible? When the self-government starts to eliminate overemployment and change production, some of the people will find themselves out of work and faced with the necessity of finding new jobs for which they had not been trained. To be sure, before the congress we protested and demanded that young age be not the sole criterion when people are fired. Nobody has listened to those protests, and to fire young people will be the easiest way. Therefore we must do more than merely protest and demand. We have initiated the movement of youth work cooperatives in order to provide employment for those who cannot find it and for those who after 1 January 1982 will be out of work. Our Workers Universities will be able to provide training for over 100,000 people annually. The Universities are already prepared for this operation.

[Question] You also organize income-earning emigration to socialist countries.

[Answer] Emigration is too big a word. "Temporary stays" would be more appropriate.

[Question] Can you give us some details?

[Answer] At this point, government-level negotiations with the appropriate ministries of the USSR, CSSR and GDR have been almost completed.

[Question] Why is the ZSMP involved in this?

[Answer] Who else?

[Question] Intermediary agencies, administration.

[Answer] It is not simple. It is not enough to send people abroad. You also have to organize their living conditions abroad in such a way that their stay in a foreign country would not result in unnecessary conflicts. Even in those towns where our people will be scattered among various work places, or perhaps especially

in those towns, there will be a need for spokespersons, experienced organizers of leisure time, people who will help during the initial period. This can be done only by a civic organization. We have this kind of experience from construction sites in the USSR, GDR and CSSR.

[Question] I agree, but they may be suspicious that you send your own people abroad, that there might be some extraneous reasons why people join the ZSMP.

[Answer] We would like to prevent this from happening, but we realize that we will have our hands full recruiting people here and, over there, organizing living conditions, alleviating tensions and work-related conflicts. We are concerned that the employees we send do not violate the local legal and political systems as well as existing customs.

[Question] Let us go back to the reform. Are you not afraid that the ZSMP, which is to take care of so many responsibilities and expectations of young people, may break down during the initial, most difficult period? That it may come to the point of being fed up with the reform?

[Answer] I would not look for opponents of the reform in the ZSMP. We may expect to see numerous publications instigated by conservative forces within the government administration. In those publications, every difficulty will be blown out of proportion in order to make people abandon the experiment even before it has been given a chance. I believe in the reform. But I am also convinced that there is no alternative to that economic reform in our political reality. The system based on directives and distribution broke down completely, and has now become a laughing stock. There is a lot of evidence that our government administration is demoralized and incapable of thinking in a time of crisis. It is enough to look at the supply of goods to the market or at the chaos with food ration coupons.

How much longer can our society take it!

[Question] And in the meantime the government has suggested "a provisional system." There have been comments already that this system will serve the opponents of the reform.

[Answer] I do not think that the provisional system is supposed to push the reform further away in time, although it will probably be used by the opponents of the reform.

[Question] How do ZSMP plant commissioners respond in a situation of a struggle between Solidarity and the old economic and political status quo?

[Answer] It varies. But there is a growing conviction that at present the most important thing is not to allow the ZSMP to be manipulated by either Solidarity or the authorities. The most important thing is to have your own opinion, as objective as possible.

[Question] In other words, just watching.

[Answer] No, not at all.

[Question] Building up the third force?

[Answer] That is not what our organization wants. We are honest. We want to make sure that young people advance in their careers, that they get positions commensurate with the qualifications and experience. That is the reason we put so much pressure on the party, for example. We do not intend to forget about our role to inspire the PZPR ideologically, which is written down in our statute.

[Question] But nevertheless I say that the ZSMP has dropped out, voluntarily or not, of the main battle front in work places.

[Answer] One may be left with such an impression when it comes to violent conflicts. In those situations we try to look for a compromise although sometimes we strongly support one of the parties in the conflict. It all depends on the merits of the matter, on who is right. In many situations we really try to initiate the new which is to come. Our colleagues, for example, have joined plant commissions which pave the way for the reform, others sit on self-government election committees (something we have fought for), and as members of those committees they play a role which I would compare to a locomotive pulling the train of reform.

[Question] Can you give some examples?

[Answer] Will you believe me if I say that our studies, explaining hundreds of problems concerning the interpretation of various proposed regulations about self-government and trade unions, have been selling like hot cakes on "the black market"?

[Question] I believe you.

[Answer] This work of ours has been highly appreciated by Minister Baka. And among plant activists and all young employees we strive for a state of preparedness for the reform.

[Question] My regrets. On the one hand, you know that it is especially young people who will be hit hard by the negative results of the reform. And yet, on the other hand, you are pushing for the reform.

[Answer] There is no other way. It is only through young people, through their energy and their spirit for innovation, that the reform may eventually produce results. After all, the reform must be geared towards producing a mechanism which will make people work. Under the present circumstances, you get paid even when you do not work, sometimes you get paid even more if you do not work. The reform must bring about a change in Polish mentality, it must make people aware that you get a higher pay for better work. And there must occur an objective mechanism whereby it will pay off to work.

[Question] What role do you seek to accomplish in the self-government of work forces? After all, you have fought for a clause in the statute, which would entitle you to having your own representatives.

[Answer] We have fought for that clause not because of vanity but because we want to be able to submit the most pressing problems of young people under the consideration of the self-government.

[Question] What kind of problems? Do you already have a program for next year?

[Answer] This will be decided by the autonomous plant organizations. However, we seek to have research and development written into self-government's projected work plans at each work place. We need this in order to be able to keep track of what the administration has done. According to economic laws, which will govern the reformed economic system, research and development should increase enterprise profits. As an organization, we have considerable experience as well as a pool of activists who have done well in Young Masters of Technology Competitions (TMMT).

[Question] Do you want to continue the competition in its present format? Do you want once again to pick up a responsibility that belongs to enterprise administrations?

[Answer] No. We want to force the administrations to stick to their responsibilities. The TMMT should continue only as a national competition for a concrete project or an invention, as a competition open to young people.

[Question] That is what you offer to employees. And how do you want to help them through the self-government?

[Answer] The other project for the self-government has to do with employer-sponsored home building. The crisis in the home building industry has reached the bottom and now we have got to do everything we can to reverse that process. We have already asked ZSMP plant organizations what should be changed and what barriers should be removed in order to speed up the home building.

[Question] What about the Patronat [cooperative home building association]?

[Answer] Buildings under construction should be completed. Although the Patronat has provided apartments to approximately 200,000 people, we see it as part of the old system of economic management, based on directives and distribution. Once the reform is implemented, there will be no room for the Patronat.

[Question] You have proposed youth cooperative home building associations.

[Answer] We have to free the initiative in every citizen and cooperative so that the waiting period for an apartment would be shortened at least for some people.

[Question] The home building is a huge topic in itself, so let us leave it for another time. Thank you for the interview.

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C30: 2600/157

LAW ON POLISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES DISCUSSED

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 6 Dec 81 pp 6-7

[Interview with Professor, doctro, habilitatus, Jozef Werle, member of the commission developing a proposal for a draft law on the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN): "What kind of law on the Polish Academy of Sciences?"; date not given]

[Text] [Question] Sir, do you consider that a separate new law on the Polish Academy of Sciences is necessary?

[Answer] I regard it as necessary because the present law is unsatisfactory, it sanctioned a defective structure of PAN, and contained elements which could be called undemocratic. In addition, it created a kind of dual authority system in academia and bureaucratic redundancies which, not only in my opinion, are harmful for the development of science. Thus, this lowers PAN's prestige, caused personal friction, unhealthy rivalry, et cetera.

[Question] In asking about the need for a separate law on PAN, I had in mind primarily whether one unifying law on science would not be better? After all, there is no lack of advocates of such an idea.

[Answer] It seems to me that the draft plan on PAN does not in principle exclude the possibility of a law on science. It must be remembered that PAN is an institution with certain traditions, with a substantial history, which of course needs to be somewhat reformed and improved. Beyond this, there are other departments engaged in science such as the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, and industrial ministries.

A law on science could have two primary purposes in mind: uniting science in one ministry, or the unification of responsibilities, rights, academic degrees and titles, the authority of researchers working in all sorts of ministries, et cetera. I am personally opposed to the first idea. It means establishing one ministry to which all research would be subordinated. However, in spite of many similarities, the nature of the research conducted in schools, PAN institutes, and ministries, is different, and its goals are different. Thus, excessive "equalization" should not be sought because that would be harmful for science and society. I consider that the differences to data in goals, for example, among PAN institutions, the educational as well as industrial, are justified and warrant the different treatment of these institutions (for example,

in the area of finance and the reckoning of results). Thus, I believe that there will be at least three laws, namely, on higher schooling, on PAN, and on ministry establishments, which should take into consideration the nature of these units. Further, I see the possibility of some regulating of certain typically academic problems, but not necessarily a standardization by law of academic degrees and titles, or some other primary law on science.

[Question] Why is the work on a new draft law on PAN going on so long?

[Answer] The committee was appointed after a long delay. It could have been established by previous PAN authorities in Fall 1980. However, bearing in mind the approaching end of terms of office and new elections, they did not want to get involved in that. The new authorities whose terms began last January, shortly thereafter appointed a committee under the direction of Professor Kostrzewski to develop a draft plan. It seems to me that this first committee proceeded somewhat too rapidly in developing the details when it did not yet have a predicated concept, of the academy as a whole, its desired structure, and so on. Thus, the plan it prepared was criticized rather strongly by numerous scientific circles and there arose a series of counter-proposals by various social organizations and groups of scientists, as a result of which the Chairman of the Academy, Professor Aleksander Gieysztor, decided to appoint a new committee whose task it would be to consider the collected criticisms and to prepare a new and complete plan for PAN based on the principles of self-government, freedom of scholarship, and taking into consideration the introduction of democratic methods for activating the entire academic community in Poland.

[Question] Thus we have a new plan whose proposed structure can astound a non-academic person. So large a number of different echelons, functions, bodies, and offices that it all seems to be excessively complicated, expanded. The description of this structure takes up probably three-quarters of the plan. By the way, how many members are there in PAN?

[Answer] Three years ago there were about 330 members, but today there are less than 300. I want to call attention to the fact that one of the ideas I was promoting during the discussions on the structure of the academy is broadening of the corporation concept. I believe that it is in a certain sense necessary to expand the corporation into PAN scientific committees. Committee members have not been elected up to the present. They were only nominated and, though they constituted a certain representation of specific academic disciplines, it was not a representation brought into being via elections by entire groups and was challenged at times.

We have close to 100 Scientific Committees. Assuming the average number of members per committee to be about 50, we already have a representation of about 5,000 scientists. The draft law plan anticipates that committee members will be elected by the greatest possible number of scientific circles with certain obvious restrictions on voting rights, for example, in the form of appropriate scientific qualifications. In this way, scientific circles would get corporation offices on committees that represent scientists in a given field, that ought to be most competent in resolving various meritorious problems, such as laying out

development directions in a given scientific field, evaluating the work of individual units, financing or eliminating certain subjects, offices, et cetera.

Corporations in the up-to-now narrower sense, that is, sections, the Presidium and General Assembly would, on the one hand, be responsible to some extent for general care and, on the other, for supervising the activity of scientific committees. As a result of these changes, PAN establishments would also be more closely tied to a corporation so expanded and, hence, with appropriate departments and committees and would, thereby, cease to constitute an academy section administered by a scientific secretary and central administration functionaries.

[Question] You mentioned three principles on which the new PAN concept is to be based, that is, self-government, scientific freedom, and democracy in activating scientific centers in Poland. How is this reflected in the proposed new academic structure?

[Answer] I would not agree with what you said earlier about an excessively complicated law. It could be that certain things can be eliminated from the plan and transferred to rules and regulations or to legal acts of a lower order as, for example, some of the matters pertaining to scientific establishments, matters relating to work, et cetera. However, the Committee was under pressure from some circles, and it swept away those problems. Nonetheless, I would like to emphasize that, even so, our plan is more concise than the plan on the Law on Higher Schools.

The main thought is that, in general, there be no nonelective offices in the Academy's leadership and that elections be based on democratic principles, making it impossible to carry on the various manipulations which occurred in previous years. For example, a new feature of the draft plan is the electability of a scientific secretary and his subordination to the Presidium, as well as to the Chairman, which at least means a partial restriction of the present dual authority: Chairman--Secretary. It has become generally accepted that the plan promotes a system of presidium rules, which in principle means that the General Assembly is the top academy authority. However, in view of the fact that the Assembly meets rather infrequently--twice a year--and is a rather large body, it conveys its powers to the Presidium, which meets every couple of weeks, and to the Chairman, Vice Chairman, and Secretary, the regular officiating executive organs of PAN who, however, are responsible for achieving the General Assembly's resolutions.

A similar system is contemplated for the departments, that is, instead of the previously nominated Department Secretary, a chairman would be elected by a department assembly, which also would be subordinated to the Presidium and PAN Chairman. This means a certain restriction on the present scope of the Scientific Secretary's authority who, in accordance with the plan, however, is to continue to take care in the name of the Chairman of contracts with the Council of Ministers.

Incidentally, this point is attacked and raises doubts in scientific circles, particularly among PAN institute workers. It is noted that the role of centralized administration will be substantially reduced in the new system under which

institutes will be more closely linked with the corporation through departments and committees. This, of course, has a bearing on the secretary's function as chief of the central administration, a secretary who might not necessarily be a PAN member but an efficient official.

[Question] So why have a scientific secretary at all? Should not an effort have been made to do away with that office if only for the sake of organizational purity?

[Answer] There was no lack of votes to have the secretary's functions, which were changed by the new law, entrusted to one of the vice chairmen, and to put a director at the head of the central administration with a simultaneous and clear restriction of the role of such an administration to purely service functions. One way or another, PAN's excessively developed central administration will have to be reorganized. To be sure, the statute does not concern itself fully with problems of PAN's administration. Nonetheless, with the general change in the tasks of individual academic establishments, this problem must arise and should be resolved for the good of Polish science.

[Question] The plan contemplates the creation of entirely new bodies--employee councils, while at the same time retaining scientific councils in establishments. Is that not a partial solution?

[Answer] The proposal for employee councils is the result of new tendencies. Up to now there was a director in an establishment, there were plant managers and a scientific council. Now there comes a self-governing organization, something in which I do not see anything bad, if only the kind of authority it should have can be determined. What is involved is that it not come down to conflicts against a background of unclear and undivided authority. We do not as yet have a clear picture of the authority of employee councils, scientific councils, and agency management; but this is more of a problem for statutes or regulations in which it will also be possible to introduce certain essential dependencies on internal structure, composition of staffs, specificity of establishment goals, and so on. The system which we are now trying to introduce is a system of effective social control for the functioning of science in contrast to the preceding administrative system, based not on election, but on nomination, and rather frequent authoritative decisionmaking by functionaries, et cetera.

[Question] I assume that the problem of employee councils and scientific councils, their authority and role in establishments will continue to provoke disputes. Should not such an important problem be spelled out precisely in a statute?

[Answer] Our committee will probably not be occupying itself with those detailed problems but perhaps it will be asked to prepare some general principle outlines or bases. The statutes will be defining the authority of those organs in each establishment, so that it seems to me that there is rather too much about them in the plan.

[Question] This is the kind of solution I am talking about. For example, could the employee council not take over the authority of the scientific council? Why so many bodies in one establishment?

[Answer] It is possible to execute the next manipulation so that a somewhat expanded scientific council absorbs the employee council. A second possibility is that the establishment just not create an employee council. The third possibility, that the employee council replaces the scientific council is unrealistic because the latter unit has tasks to do which require appropriate qualifications by members. For example, scientific degrees can be awarded solely by persons who themselves have suitable degrees.

An example of a PAN establishment is the botanical garden which is still undergoing development. It employs one docent, about 30 MAs and PhDs as well as 300 workers and other employees. The scientific council in such an establishment will in huge measure be comprised of persons from the outside, while the employees council, if it comes into being, will represent the staff itself. At any rate, many committee members regard it as a fitting general principle that a substantial number of outsiders be included in the composition of every establishment scientific council who would guarantee the expression of independent opinion free of personal ties as well also of dependence on management.

At the same time, it is a reality that the employee council, which includes persons with appropriate qualifications, can participate in scientific matters, for example, organizing scientific work, accomplishing research plans, et cetera.

[Question] Did not your committee devote too little attention to employee matters?

[Answer] On the contrary, in my opinion there is too much on this subject. A substantial amount of what is in the draft plan could be found in a general law on degrees, titles, and scientific positions, for example, the detailed decisions pertaining to adjuncts, library workers, et cetera. But there were the pressures of social factors to include these matters in the law, so the committee acceded, though assuredly not in a manner which exhausted the problem. Many of these problems will be more precisely specified in laws and regulations.

I would also like to add that the plan was discussed at the last meeting of PAN's Presidium. The Presidium introduced a series of improvements which had already been brought to its attention. In the very near future, the plan will be sent out for public consultation. That consultation comes rather late and presumably will not end before the General Assembly which is to take place on 18 December. Nonetheless, the plan will be discussed at it, together with such comments from the academic community as manage to arrive by that time.

Interview conducted by:  
HUGON BUKOWSKI

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CSO: 2600/138

**POLITICAL BUREAU MEMBER LABECKI INTERVIEWED**

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 11-13 Dec 81 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Jan Labecki, member of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee, 1st Secretary of the Plant Committee: "I Am Talking About the Opposition..."; in the Lenin Shipyard in Gdańsk, date not given]

[Text] [Answer] In all conscience, I do not feel like talking today. This will not be a good interview. It has been a long time since I had such a bad day; I feel a bit sick.

[Question] It is only 9 o'clock in the morning; perhaps it will get better....

[Answer] If it could only get better by our talk....

[Question] Perhaps your being out of humor is associated with the banner which said "Why is the big party afraid of small Confederation for Independent Poland?" (KPN) and was hung over gate number 2 yesterday without discussion or permission from the PZPR?

[Answer] The party banner on the front of accord hangs at gate 3. Those who put it up were pelted with screws.

[Question] By whom?

[Answer] I see a very unhealthy murderous frenzy. Our political opponents have abandoned all restraints. They are exceeding all limits since they are no longer threatening but using force.

[Question] What kind of people are they?

[Answer] In a nutshell: extremists. In general, they constitute a new type. They failed to attain their goals in the Solidarity National Commission; hence, they moved into large work plants. It is an ugly, new quality. I still believed in collective wisdom but now I am beginning to doubt....

[Question] During the last meeting with Warsaw students, you said that socialism has not existed in Poland for 36 years. Therefore, is the statement about anti-socialistic forces in the shipyard a misunderstanding in a pejorative sense?

[Answer] I am talking about the opposition, not about antisocialist forces. The concept "antisocialist forces" has often been used in the past for personal convenience. These words have not lost their value. On the other hand, the opposition must be spoken of honestly because it has existed from the beginning days of People's Poland. Should someone believe otherwise, he is wrong. E. Gierek surely was part of it, when he supported his activity with the thesis of unity and negation of social class divisions. We were artificially made to believe something which did not exist. The opposition always operated destructively on all levels of the economy. Those who worked underground against the peoples' authority did not subside suddenly. They only changed their methods of fighting. They discarded firearms and reached for an ideological weapon. I say this is why it was difficult to avoid greater misunderstandings in the party. It is also a fact that, if we were building real socialism consistent with people's feelings and Marxist-Leninist theory, then we could not be having cyclical crises.

[Question] You mentioned limits which must not be exceeded. Do they also pertain to the authorities?

[Answer] Of course they do if one wants to govern in a state and be respected and recognized. It is never permissible to stop listening to the majority of the people. It seems to me that, up to now, the party has not been concerned with this. What was coming in from basic organizations was disregarded. After all, those signals were and are an excellent barometer, a source of information. Just consider this with respect to the rich assortment of suggestions collected during the campaign before the 8th [Party] Congress.

[Question] Let us return to the shipyard opposition. Is the party trying to combat it?

[Answer] That is a group which nothing reaches. Nothing and nobody.

[Question] Is it large?

[Answer] It is not numerous. But they are fanatics who are going "all out." They are openly agitating for the return of capitalism. They have discarded all restraints.

[Question] Is it not possible to nip this very harmful phenomenon in the bud?

[Answer] I thought, however, that everyone understood that there were limits which could not be exceeded. It turns out otherwise.

[Question] It would be a real tragedy if the majority of the shipyard work force declared itself in favor of this opposition. Surely this is not so.

[Answer] However, people are entirely different in a private face-to-face talk, than, unfortunately, they are in a group. In short, they are afraid to say what they think.

[Question] One symptom, a reflection of Polish thinking, is contained in the many letters the party receives. Would not the attitudes of people not associated with the shipyard also have changed?

[Answer] At the moment, the degree of these people's determination is evident. That means that a substantial part definitely proclaims itself in favor of decisively cutting and ending these manifestations of anarchy because they no longer have the strength to thrive in such a tense atmosphere. Some simply regard the situation just as our all-out opponents do.

[Question] Do you feel that your understanding of the situation and social attitudes is complete? How often do you talk about what is happening in the shipyard to members of the Central Committee?

[Answer] I am in Warsaw once a week, thus, rather frequently. I have always spoken honestly about this and continue to do so. The longer I work in the leadership of the party, the more this forces me to look and think differently than I had when I belonged to the "bottom" echelon of the shipyard. Unfortunately, I come to such conclusions somewhat too often.

[Question] Could the differences in the thinking of "top" and "bottom" echelons be so great?

[Answer] The basic problem boils down to the fact that, at the moment, the "bottom" wants to think in terms of "top" categories although it has poor capabilities for observation or for objective evaluation. A very dangerous symptom. It does not lead to anything worthwhile. On the other hand, because of its low credibility, the "top" echelon cannot reach the consciousness of "bottom" echelons insofar as real problems are concerned. This is the truth.

[Question] There still are indirect elements.

[Answer] At the moment, it is not an element for wielding power. A complete disassociation.

[Question] Authorisation of the party movement was counted on during the requalification campaign which preceded the 9th PZPR Congress.

[Answer] I will answer truthfully. The hard opposition did everything to obliterate the attainments of the Congress from the realm of consciousness. It must be admitted honestly that this was successful in large part. As a result, not much of an awareness of what was accomplished has remained. A terrifying number of "bottom" party echelons are generally not aware of the contents of party documents. It knows only that the Congress took place, that something was resolved, and that is all.

[Question] Perhaps you are exaggerating. At least the most essential facts are known, namely, that the party favored dialogue, resolving differences by political methods, introducing agricultural reforms....

[Answer] Yes, you journalists know that. You take an interest in such matters. Ask the average man in the street, he will say that everything is due to "Solidarity". Union propaganda enforces that. Here in the shipyard, the local radio center reduces brains to pulp.

[Question] Do you lack arguments?

[Answer] Sometimes we try to respond logically. This is not simple. I have arguments at hand. However, one cannot wield them in a closed cage. They must be addressed to the entire country, to all socio-political groups. In a word, it is necessary to search for something new. I travel around the country quite often and meet all kinds of people. I manage to convince many of them after hours of long discussions....

When I am asked a specific question in the course of my meetings, I try to give a specific answer. This kind of meeting took place several days ago in the shipyard EA [expansion unknown] Division. In my opinion, it was of benefit to both sides. We touched on all subjects from food to politics through personal accounts. It is necessary in direct contacts at present to act within the limits of our life such as it currently is.

[Question] We were impressed with the understanding of good work which reigns in the shipyard. We are very much surprised by your appraisals today.

[Answer] I already said that a new quality has appeared which has a bearing on the situation; a hard opposition has entered large work plants and wants to smash the party by force.

[Question] And is the party viewing this passively?

[Answer] Of course not. It is only that the effectiveness of our action is somewhat limited. A basic fact must be remembered. At every turn in our post-war history there has been the phenomena of division within the party with its concomitant interparty struggle. Naturally, in an internal struggle, one does not & vote too much attention to an external opponent. I am convinced that antagonisms do no one any good.

I am most frightened, however, by the fact that the "bottom" echelon wants to do big things but has very little potential. If things go on like this, they will lead to tragedy. In an organized society, everyone ought to have his place and do his only job. Sensible people see that but are afraid to open their mouths. I tell the workers to speak their minds anonymously through the local radio center. Their response is--perhaps it is better if you do it yourself....

[Question] Do you feel that your authority as a party activist in the shipyard has decreased lately?

[Answer] What I see rather is that I cannot depend on too many helpers. I am thinking of all of those characterized by good judgment. I am beginning to wonder now whether there are so few of them, or whether they prefer to sit quietly and, by their silence, automatically support the opponent.

[Question] Perhaps "Solidarity" is also beginning to lose control over the "new quality".

[Answer] Conversely, everything is happening with the blessing of "Solidarity". If it only wanted to take control, but the devil of it is that it does not want to. I'll say more--that a certain number of people selected by "Solidarity" authorities adjust and wind up this spring. Remember that the shaping of this union is decided by large enterprise plants. This is the situation in the shipyard.

[Question] Is not one of the reasons for such a turn of affairs the fact that the party's membership consists primarily of the older part of society and "Solidarity" of the younger? The source of our troubles is the economic crisis. A crisis immediately affects young people. Actually, youth has nothing to lose and that is why it listens to the ideas of the political opposition.

[Answer] You are referring to the theory of the generation struggle. However, youth which have arrived at the voting age want to sanction lawlessness. One cannot agree to that.

[Question] If everyone sanctions lawlessness, then that lawlessness becomes law.

[Answer] That must not be said because we would be sanctioning anarchy, terrorism, and antidemocratic order.

[Question] Prior to our meeting, we talked with the leadership of the shipyard's Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP). Activists of this organization say that they already have their first successes in their work. They stimulated young people to seek so-called [pustostanow]. About 200 to 300 interested persons show up for meetings. Now they have publicized winter camps. Action bears fruit. Action being a struggle for souls. As First Secretary of the Plant Committee in the Lenin Shipyard, don't you think that the party organization ought to redirect its action, particularly with respect to young people?

[Answer] It's easy to talk. After August, it suddenly turned out that everything needs to be changed and improved. This occupied a great deal of our time. A person raced around from day to day, slept 3 to 4 hours a night, did not eat or rest. As long as one moved forward, onward. Even so, I visit young people more often than they visit me. I will not say too often. A joint meeting of the Plant Committee and Plant Board is to take place soon. There simply was no time previously.

I have believed and continue to believe that economic reform and self-government have no shortage of problems. Toward the end of March, we and the workers' council took action as did "Solidarity" which met three times with us. When they saw that they had other goals, they did not pursue the subject further, that is, until they organized "Siec".

[Question] Would people not become involved in creating self-governing structures?

[Answer] Not now. We already are at the point of a selected but not yet established self-governing body.

[Question] After the economic reform becomes effective, what role should the party have in the plant?

[Answer] A shipyard is a bad example because it does not produce for the market. On the other hand, the party ought to concern itself with the protection of social goals in every other plant. At present, a model has formed in which everyone remembers everything with the exception of fulfilling social demands. I cannot imagine that Poles will roll up their sleeves and get to work after the reform. Neither do I believe in the miracle that that self-governing body will be paying attention to social goals. On the contrary, plant parochialism and gain criteria will arise. The party may expose these weak points and care about everybody's welfare.

I see a terrible devastation of people's minds and a decline in the principle of good work. Substantially greater destruction in this regard occurred after September than in the course of the entire 36-year postwar period. Everyone fills only his own fist and his own mouth. I am aware of the importance of these words.

[Question] We see a "snag" in your reasoning.

[Answer] I know, there is more than one.

[Question] We think that, after the reform becomes effective, workers will begin to calculate and readily realize that an increase in production is the greatest guarantor of increased profits and, therefore, of wages.

[Answer] Not here in the shipyard. The shipbuilding industry is not profitable anywhere in the world. In Poland, it is also subsidized. Why should anyone do any calculating when it is known that the state will make it up anyway. There will never be profit here, only losses. One needs to look at the shipbuilding branch solely from a social standpoint, that is, that thousands of people have employment and that what they are building might be sold for dollars.

Until we will understand that we work poorly as a nation, then we have nothing to dream about. Dream of a Japan--what kind of Japan? 'Tis but to laugh. One wanted to build Poland one way, another deludes us with a second Japan....

[Question] You say that the shipyard is seething. That is something that is not perceptible to the average observer outside of the gate. The plant is regarded nationally as being peaceful just like the voivodship in which it is located.

[Answer] The most frequent cause of conflicts are people, particularly the decisions they make. That is why I believe that anyone who is unqualified to fulfill managerial functions must go, there must be no exceptions. There is no room for incompetents in Gdansk voivodship. We are making many decisions of this kind. We will not be paying for representation. As long as I am here and

perform this highest function for the party, all unfit workers will have to change jobs. We cannot allow a situation in which the wholesale establishment distributes goods, while invoices are the only things that reach the store. Someone has to be responsible for that. If there are no people, then let it be the manager or the director. A state of dissolution, of everything falling to pieces without anyone's fault, can no longer be tolerated.

[Question] Does the party have enough strength to lead the country out of the crisis?

[Answer] It ought to have. However, one condition must be fulfilled, namely, the consolidation of the PZPR.

[Question] You said that before the 9th Congress.

[Answer] And I continue to say that because, as I mentioned, it has not yet come to that. It is true that the party was disarmed ideologically. The PZPR is now seeking its identity. Much time will elapse before it comes to that. The party will unite. I am not concerned about fractional divisions, although such exist and feud with one another.

[Question] You perform two responsible party functions, something that surely is not easy. Do you feel that the shipyard workers consider you to be a man of the "top" echelon who is manipulating the "bottom" echelons?

[Answer] This is a substantially more complex problem for someone who fulfills two party functions. I am at all times responsible to my own "I" because I want to be honest with myself as well as with everyone else. On the other hand, I was able to become aware of many things which I did not previously know. I wanted to avoid the designation "politician". Now I know that is no longer possible.

[Question] Every step of yours is observed carefully by the opposition.

[Answer] I know that and it constitutes an additional burden of restrictions. It is necessary to constantly watch one's activity and words. Even when I say something in good faith, and I have the right to make a mistake, then everybody judges me not as a worker, but as a member of the party authorities and a politician. In any event, comrades in the Political Bureau who do not perform any functions in their party mother organizations are less than half as busy as we. If I were working only in the area of my work plant, I would feel substantially better physically. Unfortunately, I now note the condition of the national party, trade unions, the opposition, and external conditions. However, I am not thinking of how to survive, live through the difficulties and be a member of the bureau in a different position. I know my place in the ranks well. I know where I am supposed to go. I know that I will leave. The dilemma in the selection of macro- or micropolitician would occur if I had to try to act on my own and look out for my own interest. I don't have those problems. The most important task for me is the defense of the party in the shipyard to ensure that it does not allow itself to be pushed out of its position. I want to fulfill this responsibility as long as I have the strength to do it.

[Question] We feel that, in spite of everything, you are an optimist.

[Answer] I must be. The deeper the crisis gets, the more strongly we feel the fatigue and the greater the yearning for normal, human, and just life.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

Interview conducted by:

Ewa Grunert  
Marek Ryczkowski

10433  
CSO: 2600/130

POLAND

VARIED MILITARY ACTIVITIES UNDER MARTIAL LAW REPORTED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 14 Dec 81 pp 1, 5

[Article by (K-cl ?) and (S. L.)]

[Text] The introduction of martial law throughout the entire country has placed special tasks before our armed forces, tasks of preserving law and order and public security, which demand quick, decisive action.

According to the statements made by the representatives of several military units and institutions across the nation, in the 3 days since the state of greatest national necessity was introduced, soldiers have patrolled streets and railway stations in the cities and they have protected state buildings and buildings serving the public. Under the new conditions of martial law, local city operational groups have assisted inhabitants to solve numerous problems. Military plenipotentiaries--the commissioners of the National Defense Committee [KOK] from particular ministries have set to work. Together with law and order forces, soldiers have participated in restoring the normal course of work in some enterprises and production plants. The execution of special tasks is not interfering with the implementation of intensive military winter training programs.

At their meetings, soldier teams report on the necessity of immediately counter-acting cases of the violation of law and order and disruptions of the normal rhythm of the life and work of society. Amid their statements the predominant view is that what is indispensable is the consistent and public execution of compulsory martial law; although severe and often ruthless, it is necessary under the current situation which threatens the state.

In the Pila MGO [city operational groups]

City operational groups are at work in the Pila voivodship under the new conditions of martial law. According to the reports of group leaders, Lt Col Marian Bukowski (in Pila) and Lt Col Jerzy Walendzinski (in Valcz), the new situation was a shock to the region's inhabitants and the sudden intervention of operational groups was received anxiously, almost with dread. In a certain sense the shock facilitated the work of the soldiers, who are now able more rapidly and without conflict to eliminate the deficiencies and shortcomings observed during the first days of work.

Military operational groups cooperate closely with law and order forces. The deputy chief of the Voivodship Military Headquarters in Pila for political affairs, however, stresses that there has not yet been an opportunity for decisive intervention in disruptions of order and calm. Thus, they are continuing their work, most important of which are problems of housing construction, transportation and supplying people with rationed food products.

The work of military operational groups in the Pila voivodship continues to be accompanied by the unflagging recognition and support of broad circles of society, which makes known cases of dishonesty and waste, points out examples of mismanagement and makes requests for intervention under the most varied of circumstances.

#### At the Foot of the Wawel

The soldiers in subunits of the Sixth Pomorze Airraid Division have received the news concerning the establishment of a Military Council of National Salvation, under the leadership of Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski and the announcement of martial law in the country with understanding and gravity.

Beginning at dawn on 13 December, paratroopers set about implementing tasks resulting from the situation which threatens the state, i.e., ensuring law and order and public safety, immediately counteracting all phenomena which violate the principles of law and order and creating conditions to guarantee the unbroken progress of work and production in offices, public service buildings, institutions and industrial plants.

The soldiers protect structures that are important for city life, including buildings, water intakes and radio-television broadcasting stations. They also control traffic on city streets.

Many soldiers wearing red berets express their concern over the fate of the country and over the fortunes of those close to them. At the same time, they stress the need to undertake radical steps and ruthless means of coercion against those traitors to the nation who, hiding behind the workers, are provoking intense confrontation and causing bloodshed. Staff Sergeant Stanislaw Blaszcak emphasizes that instigators should receive the stiffest penalties granted under compulsory martial law, and that the sentences passed on them by military courts should be announced in the mass media.

#### Among the Tank Corpsmen

Members of the Union of Former Professional Soldiers joined in the special work of the soldiers of the First Warsaw Tank Regiment named for the Heroes of Westerplatte. Joint patrols in the streets and throughout the city quarters ensure calm for city residents. As we were informed by Lt Col Henryk Misztakiewicz, the Pomorze tank corpsmen also implement training programs effectively. Activities for perfecting the special functional skills of personnel and simulations are continuing in the subunits. Preparations for the winter firing school which awaits the regiment in the next few weeks are also being made. Plans are being made for firing tanks directly and from concealed firing positions and for individual firing from machine weaponry, as well as for numerous tests and simulation drills within the subunit.

Lt Col Miszterkiewicz emphasizes the sense of obligation felt by soldiers on vacation and on leave and the tank corpsmen's sense of the gravity of the situation. With the news that martial law had been announced in the country, they interrupted their vacations and reported to their subunits by Monday. Many of them express the view that only through decisive, consistent action now will the nation be victorious over lawlessness, anarchy and the rashness of the "Solidarity" extremists, who are working together with various kinds of "renewal" people toward the ruin of socialist Poland.

#### In Dolny Slask

The rhythm and character of life and service in the units and garrisons of the Slask Military District have changed diametrically with the introduction of martial law throughout the country. Above all, the responsibility of all soldiers to maintain order in the country, guaranteeing the efficient operation of the state organism, has increased.

According to information we have from units, the decision to introduce martial law was received with understanding in the soldier's community. Emphasis is being placed on exemplary discipline, sacrifice in the fulfillment of tasks and the intense vigilance of all at their posts.

Staff Master Sergeant Stanislaw Szewczyk said, "Martial law found me on duty. I was not surprised by it, it had to happen, since the counterrevolutionary deeds of "Solidarity's" leaders, the strikes and the increasing anarchy were leading the country into ruin. In the end, a stop had to be put to this. I have been in the army for 30 years, and was soon to retire. But because of the current national situation, I will serve as long as the situation warrants. I believe, however, that our fatherland will regenerate itself, and that all Poles will pull themselves together to raise the country up out of its fallen state."

When martial law was declared, Reserve Master Sergeant Antoni Kozioł was on guard duty. "When I heard on the radio that martial law had been declared," he said, "my first thoughts were of my family back home. The decided majority of "Solidarity" members in my plant wish to work honestly and peacefully. I believe that national harmony will come into being. As a reserve soldier I can assure you that all tasks that my superiors order me to execute will be fulfilled in an exemplary manner."

When martial law was announced, many reserve soldiers and former professional soldiers volunteered for units in the Slask Military District. They expressed their readiness to don the soldier's uniform immediately and to embark on military service. Reserve Lt Col Zdzisław Glogowski, who had served in a unit of combat engineers, sent a note to the unit leader asking to be recalled into military service. Colonel Glogowski writes in his statement: "My request is motivated by the fact that as a soldier formerly in the KBW [Internal Security Corps], I defended the authority of the people. Now, when the fatherland finds itself in danger, I wish once again to fulfill my patriotic duty and stand in defense of the people's authority."

## They Patrol the Bridges

It is 6 o'clock. One can go out into the streets of Warsaw. People are making their way to the factories. There are few private cars about. On the other hand, the trams and buses are very crowded. A shadow of pensiveness seems to be cast over the faces of the inhabitants. Are they thinking only of the work that awaits them? They are probably also wondering what tomorrow will bring. The wish of the premier is that calm be maintained. Is there calm everywhere in the country? Have the people everywhere gone to work?

After 8 o'clock there are fewer people on the streets. There are also fewer cars on the roadways. But many vehicles cross the bridges which link the two banks of the Wisla. Bridges are important. In military language it is said that they fulfill a strategic function. The Wisla cuts the city into two parts. These two halves of the city must be joined. They can only be joined by bridges. Warsaw's bridges have their tradition. They were built during various periods--built and destroyed. They were rebuilt during various periods. Most recently, they were rebuilt after World War II, when Warsaw rose up out of its ashes.

The soldiers who bore Poland's freedom made a forced crossing of the Wisla. Soldiers also, among others, rebuilt the bridges which were destroyed by the invader. And now the time has come for soldiers to protect these bridges as they safeguard law and order in the land.

This is a time of unrest, a time of martial law. The bridges are neuralgic passageways in the lives of one and one-half million residents in a city separated by a river. These locations must be made safe, and traffic must run smoothly on them, without disruption. I met some soldiers on one of these bridges. I know their leader, Captain Tadeusz Pusz.

"For us," said the officer, "this is a sort of training in protecting and defending a structure. But it is too bad that this training is taking place during martial law. But it cannot be helped. There was no other way out: the situation was not resolved. Now it is important that we execute every undertaking, every task, every order expertly, in an exemplary manner. I am certain that my soldiers will likewise execute every command exemplarily. I am as sure of them as I am of myself."

I have known the captain for several years. He is a graduate of the Higher Engineer Officers School [WSOWInz]. He is a leader, a combat engineer. We have met many times: in his garrison, on the firing range, over the rivers, when he was building bridges. Most of our meetings occurred during the building of bridges for society, for the national economy.

When we met in November of this year at a bridge being constructed by soldiers over the San River in Sanok, the captain said that it was the sixth bridge being built by him and his men in 1981. This sixth bridge was the most difficult to build. The river bottom was exceptionally hard, rocky and inaccessible. At first it was impossible to pound in supports. But the soldiers managed to deal with the adverse conditions of the terrain. The bridge was erected linking the two banks of the river.

The combat engineers returned to their garrison feeling that they had done their duty well. Not for long. Their next soldierly obligation was to report to Warsaw, to the bridges joining the two parts of the city.

They patrol the bridges. They check the vehicles crossing these bridges. They cooperate with MO [Citizen's Militia] officials. Their leader, Lt Ryszard Rybak, said:

"We have been working along with Captain Pusz for over 10 hours. I am full of admiration for the professionalism of this officer in every matter. And I am full of admiration for the sense of sacrifice of his subordinates. We are on guard here day and night."

Captain Pusz said: "I would rather build bridges than defend them. During the building process one sees something be made, something being made new again. And every bridge that is created serves society. And that is what has always pleased me the most, given me the greatest satisfaction. But what can we do, combat engineers do more than build roads and bridges. Under martial law combat engineers, like all soldiers, act in accordance with needs, with the situation."

From the bridge on which we stand one can see the Lazienki Route and the Wisla Highway. These are likewise the fruit of soldiers' work. Further on, over the Wisla, where the Torun Route intersects with the Wisla Highway, Captain Pusz's men took part in operation "Wiadukt" viaduct. They erected a structure of Bailye [sic!] combat engineers' bridges. The operation consisted of removing the supporting structure from under a ready-made carrying panel, lowering it, transferring it and once again mounting it to construct another section of the viaduct. The operation went quickly and smoothly. Thanks to the combat engineers, the national economy saved several million zlotys.

Captain Tadeusz Pusz has directed the construction of many bridges over Polish rivers--over the Pilica, the Bzura, the Sola, the Raba and the Wkra. But not only did they build bridges. They also built houses, roads and highways. But he recalls the building of bridges with the greatest sentiment. He would rather be in the garrison. But for the present martial law does not allow this. However, the captain believes that the situation will become normalized and that all people will return to work—all of them. The mass meetings, the debating and the organizing of strikes have stopped. Maybe real, honest, productive men will go back to building bridges.

But everything depends on whether things will calm down, on whether law and order, so indispensable, will prevail. We believe that they will.

It is the 22nd hour. The streets are deserted. Captain Pusz's men and Lieutenant Rybak's men stand guard at their posts.

(S. L.)

8536  
CSO: 2600/162

YUGOSLAVIA

PAPER PROTESTS ARREST OF SERBS IN GRACANICA

Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 26 Nov 81 p 6

[Article by Mirko Cupic: "Epilogue of a Celebration"]

[Text] The celebration of the day of the liberation of Pristina on 19 November this year will leave an unpleasant memory with the inhabitants of the village of Gracanica, and with others as well. The commemoration of this significant date in the history of the peoples and nationalities of Kosovo was spoiled by an event that ended an exceptional holiday. What happened?

After the joint program presented by the members of the Zivojin Jovanovic KUD and the Janicije Popovic Amateur Theater from Gracanica, a supper was arranged for those participating in the program, in the "Gracanica" private restaurant. The young men and women were still in the same mood in which they had previously entertained several hundred spectators of their performance. Everything went very well while the songs "Yugoslavia" and "Oh Rade, oh Radmila" were being sung, but unpleasant scenes took place when the song "Oh Commander Sindjelic" was sung. Four workers from "Bosna-Put," who were sitting at a neighboring table, began to break glasses and bottles, as a result of which the owner of the cafe, Branislav Djekic, asked them to leave. The only one left at that table was their friend, Hamit Bejta, from the Kline area. When closing time was announced, and the guests had to leave the cafe, Bejta approached Srboljub Popovic and asked him, "Who is that commander Sindjelic?" "Where have you been living? You really haven't heard of Sindjelic?" Popovic answered. "No, I haven't," said Bejta; "I'm an Albanian." In response to this, Popovic added, "That's your business."

While the guests were on the street, a police car appeared from the direction of Kisanica. Simon Simoni, the commander of the Second Police Station in Pristina, stopped the car and asked them, "Are there any problems?" When they answered that there were none, Hamit Bejta began to shout, "Look, comrades, at that one," pointing out Popovic, "he told me that if I'm an Albanian I should go to Albania." Over twenty of those present reacted to this accusation by asserting that it was incorrect, but Commander Simon Simoni got out of the car and told Popovic and Bejta to go with him, while he ordered the rest to go home. He quickly changed his mind and issued a second order: "No one is to leave." At the same time, Simoni approached Srecko Todorovic and roughly pulled him out of his car. As he did this the commander's hat fell off his head; he later used this to accuse Todorovic of physical assault against an official.

Since he had meanwhile received reinforcements from Pristina, Simoni arranged for arrests. Thus the following people were put in jail after midnight: Srboljub Popovic, Stecko Todorovic, Momir Todic, Dragan Maksimovic, and Jovica Nikolic. The arrest of Dragan Todorovic did not take place until the following day, when he brought his father to the Communal Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Pristina, so that they could find out what had happened to his brother, and his father's son. When Simon Simoni heard that Dragan was the brother of the arrested Stecko, he addressed him with the following words: "You are under arrest too, because you were probably with your brother last night(!)" Although the police station in Gracanica is 200 meters away from the location of the incident, the police commander in Gracanica was not informed of what had happened. It should also be said that except for Jovica Nikolic none of the other five young men had been in the company of the Gracanica amateur actors at the holiday supper.

The next day, 20 November, the six young men were brought before Bakija Krasnicija, the Communal Court magistrate. Judging by the way this trial took place, it appears that the role of prosecutor was played by Hamit Bejta, on whose statement all of the charges were based. This is best confirmed by the fact that both Simoni and Bejta stated one thing in their reports, and something quite different when they were before the judge. None of the witnesses offered by the young men arrested were heard, not even the "Bosna-Put" workers in whose company Bejta had been, and who had been involved in the uproar in the cafe.

The arguments for the arrest and sentencing of the six young men can best be seen from this court's decision, UP.I.15886/81 of 20 November. In explaining the sentence of 60 days' imprisonment given by the judge to Srboljub Popovic and Stecko Todorovic, it says that the two of them "insulted and cursed the Albanian mother of Hamit Bejta," and that Todorovic threatened him. It is interesting that the other four, who were sentenced to 30 days in jail apiece, according to the decision, were convicted because "they did not leave the location of the incident." As the decision emphasized, some of them were held responsible for "joining the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs police..." There were no other charges.

The incident caused great disturbance in Gracanica, and elsewhere as well, because this is a village concerning which it has always and everywhere been emphasized that it is a model of how one should foster the brotherhood and unity and other legacies of World War II and the Revolution; and so it is understandable that the public demanded an explanation from the Secretariat for Internal Affairs, as well as from the sociopolitical bodies, for what happened. Instead of replying, as was stated at a meeting of the LC basic organization in Gracanica, Simon Simoni announced new arrests, commenting that he would "straighten out Gracanica." Such a statement angered the village even more, as well as all of the socio-political organizations, which sharply criticized such actions at a special joint meeting (held on 21 November) which was attended by representatives of the Pristina SO, the Communal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, and the Executive Council of Kosovo. The Communists, as well as all of the citizens of Gracanica, are of the unanimous opinion that every offense must be punished, but also that occurrences of fabricated trials, which this one is in their opinion, must be resolutely opposed.

What life is like in Gracanica is best confirmed by the words of Djemalj Kucije, a retired policeman, who stated the following at the 23 November meeting of the Gracanica LC basic organization:

"I have been living here for 20 whole years. No one has looked crosswise at me or my family either earlier or now, and no one has ever teased or insulted my children. And I know that these young men are honest and respectable."

It is expected that the commune's sociopolitical bodies and other officials will soon discover who has stirred up Gracanica, and why.

9909  
CSO: 2800/155

## CAUSES OF RECENT WORK STOPPAGES EXAMINED

Belgrade INICA in Serbo-Croatian No 201, 7 Nov 81 pp 23-24

[Article by Ljiljana Nikolic]

[Text] A strike in the Yugoslav manner begins spontaneously, lasts 6 hours on the average, and what is most important, the immediate causes are quickly neutralized, but not the real problems about which the workers are protesting.

Darko Marinkovic, who recently received his master's degree in political sciences, described the situation as follows: "Despite certain positive changes that have come as a result of the democratization of society, strikes here in Yugoslavia still are a 'taboo' subject, or at least one about which we rarely and reluctantly speak. Facts about them are generally known only to the leaders." Marinkovic is employed by the Trade Union League of Serbia, and he has been analyzing this phenomenon for several years, and used it as the topic of his master's thesis.

This "taboo" theme, or as Marinkovic also calls it this "contradictory manifestation of socialist society," is apparently more often discussed and debated in theoretical and political spheres than in the places where it occurs, among the workers.

In mid-year the Presidium of the Yugoslav Trade Union League discussed "work stoppages" among other topics. The data were presented that last year there were 245 strikes in Yugoslavia, while in the first 3 months of 1981 there were 65.

This was regarded to be an essentially insignificant number, since there are 62,000 basic organizations of associated labor, with nearly 6 million employees, in the country, and there are increasing economic difficulties. Some 13,000 workers participated in all work stoppages combined. The number of stoppages is growing slightly, but the number of workers taking part is declining, according to the discussion. The number of workers involved ranged from 5 to 250, with most stoppages involving about 10 workers. The stoppages lasted as a rule a few hours of the day, and included only part of the labor organization.

The communications media also noted the information presented at this meeting, but there was no reference to the locations of the strikes, why the workers struck, or how they ended. According to present practice, only in Slovenia and Croatia are strikes given adequate regard and their causes and results studied. In Slovenia as well, the public is informed about every strike with at least a brief news report.

We would remind the reader that in June 1978, when the workers at the steel plant at Ravno na Koroskem went out on strike, or as we usually say, stopped work, it was a matter of low wages. At that time France Popit, president of the Central Committee of the Slovenian LC, personally went to the factory. Before him, however, teams of trained specialists arrived to study the causes and explain them in detail.

#### For Small Cause But Effective

Dr Neca Jovanov, the only person in Yugoslavia to receive a doctorate for strike research, says that "nowhere do people strike for such small cause, or with such good effectiveness, as here in Yugoslavia."

The accuracy of this statement is confirmed by the reaction of a trade union delegation from England, whose members laughed merrily when they heard what we call a 'work stoppage.' It was incomprehensible to them that work stoppages included instances where work was interrupted for half an hour, with 3-4 workers participating.

Most commonly, by stopping work the workers want to correct errors made in the distribution of personal income, because of improper housing assignment, lengthy waits for the payment of wages, or postponement of their annual vacations. Ideology and class consciousness obviously are not separated from the mouth and the stomach.

Most of the strikes are in the metal and electrical industries, along with textiles and construction activities. As Marinkovic stresses, they happen most frequently in those branches and activities where, for long periods of time, the industry has been in a poor material situation that has directly affected the workers' standard of living. These are branches with large numbers of workers, where intensive labor utilization puts a noticeable burden on income, and on the funds available for personal income distribution in the collectives involved. Large amounts of capital are necessary for production advancement, but they are lacking due to low rates of capital accumulation in these industries, as well as large payments required by sociopolitical communities. There are far fewer strikes, or none at all, in non-metal industries, graphics, chemicals, transportation, and community service activities. As a rule, the strikers are workers involved in material production, "my comrade in heavy industry," who also has as a rule a lower personal income than that received by those employed in administration. Bankers, merchants and the administrators "tangle the lines" of the economy, and they never strike.

According to an analysis prepared in Slovenia, more than a third of the cases of work stoppages occur because of improper implementation of self-management decisions, ineffectiveness and inactivity by self-management agencies, lack of information among the workers, and the failure to respect general self-management acts. In se are the causes, but the immediate triggering events are often extremely innocuous. Darko Marinkovic says, "A man always wonders how such a minor, petty incident could provoke a strike." Most often it is a matter of devaluing the points for work performed relative to the planned or expected value, or delays in wage payment. This happens as a rule in collectives where the self-management relationships have been disturbed for a period of time, so that the apparent petty reason practically amounts to the last straw. For example, Marinkovic cites the situations that frequently occur where work stoppages have come because wages were not paid on the first of the month, but rather on the fifth, for various reasons. "Perhaps the collective did

not have sufficient funds in its bank account, or maybe the responsible service office was late in doing its work. The key, however, is not that the workers received their wages 5 days late, for certainly no one would have starved to death. The workers reacted because none of the leaders explained what was happening to them for days, they did not inform them as to why their wages were late or when they would receive them."

As Mika Spiljak once said: "Whenever there is a strike in some collective, it is immediately clear that the trade union has not done what it should have, and that the worker, for whatever reason, has not used the rights that legally belong to him. Someone, somewhere and by some method prevented it.... Usually a group of people gathers, including the factory director, the president of the workers' council, and party and trade union leaders, along with someone from the management. They always know how to reach agreement among themselves and how to make decisions about which the workers fail to ask enough questions."

The following case offers a concrete example: At the end of June this year, 20 workers of the Elektra basic organization of associated labor in Dubrovnik stopped work because their wages were not paid. As is usually the case, the funds for payment were found very quickly. Yet the problems that beset this collective, and that were the underlying causes for the work stoppage, remained after the strike. The opstina trade union council concluded that the collective's leaders has been irresponsible with public property, that the workers were uninformed, and that the collective had no meeting procedure, workers' control or disciplinary commission.

#### What Do The Workers Say?

Darko Marinkovic asserts that the workers who participated in the strikes frequently take the position that those who do not directly produce income often fare the best in the society. They also express their dissatisfaction at the high wages paid to workers in banks, insurance agencies and self-management interest communities, as well as the high wages of workers in other branches of industry and groups of activities, which the strikers regard to be unjustified.

Analyses made in a number of collectives which had experienced strikes show that the workers increasingly believe that to realize their controlling positions in organizations of associated labor they must resort more often to workers meetings and the self-management decision-making process in its entirety. They must be much more active and militant at their meetings, and most importantly, they must prevent others from imposing decisions on them that are not in their best interests, or do not further their capabilities to the utmost. This conclusion is supported by the fact that most strikes happened spontaneously, were transformed into workers' meetings in an organized manner, and then the causes that led to the strike were presented and suggestions were made to resolve the problems.

The workers have also always been careful to avoid any sort of violent incidents, such as breakage of machinery or other damage to their work collective. This sort of behavior comes from a simple fact that every worker knows: If they were to break the machinery, after the strike they would have to earn the money to repair it in order to have something to perform their work on. Actually, the strikers have sought to protect the basis premises of self-management, and that provides an answer to the question as to how there can be strikes in a socialist society, and against whom the workers in it are striking.

In the Yugoslav legal and political system, there is no special definition given of the state's relationship to strikes; i.e., no single law mentions the worker's right to strike. Neither the Constitution or the other laws, however, forbids the workers from protecting their interests or expressing their attitudes, even by means of strikes. As Mika Spiljak once said, "here strikes are not permitted, but neither are they forbidden."

Yugoslavia is a signatory of the International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, under which the signatory states are obliged to provide, among other things, the right to strike.

The Yugoslav worker, however, knows that the strike is the last resort, to which one resorts when all major self-management devices fail.

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BRIEFS

RECALL OF MACEDONIAN DELEGATE--The Presidency of the Executive Committee of the SAWP of Macedonia supports the proposal to take action for the recall of Kimete Agai as delegate to the Social-Political Council of the Assembly of Macedonia due to the fact that he came into conflict with the ideological-political platform of the LCY, for which he was expelled from membership in the League of Communists. By way of explanation of this recall, among other things it was stated that Kimete Agai, as a professor of Albanian literature at the Pedagogical Academy in Skopje is "morally and politically responsible for the fact that his reading book for the fifth grade (in the Albanian language) contains texts that could arouse nationalistic feelings." /Text/ /Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 26 Dec 81 p 3/

NEW FOREIGN RELATIONS OFFICIAL--The Macedonian Social Council for Relations with Foreign Countries held a session on 25 December chaired by Vlado Maleski, member of the Presidency of Macedonia and president of the Council. At the session the Council discussed the anti-Yugoslav contents of the celebration of the "1300th anniversary of the formation of the Bulgarian state" in Bulgaria and abroad. In this regard, the reflection of the attitudes and actions of Sofia in connection with this celebration on Yugoslav-Bulgarian relations was also noted. Since the mandate of the current president of the Council has expired, Tome Buklevski, member of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communist of Macedonia, was elected president of the Republican Social Council for Relations with Foreign Countries with a one-year mandate. /Text/ /Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 26 Dec 81 p 3/

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